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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE
NON-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS

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INTRODUCTION

Indian children live during the school year in large groups in the non-reservation boarding schools. Coming as they do from scattered localities, they present both a challenging opportunity and a difficult problem to religious education workers. Using one school as an example, in 1938 at Carson Indian School the students came from various communities and reservations from five different Western states and represented sixteen different tribes. Having five hundred of these Indian children in groups under favorable conditions of time and place each week for religious instruction presents a challenging opportunity to help them to develop Christian personalities. Then they may return to act as a Christian leaven to some of these isolated communities or reservations where in some cases there is no Christian work conducted.

The purpose of this study is to try to understand the missionary work conducted among the Indians, to seek to ascertain the problems confronting the workers in the non-reservation boarding schools for Indians, and to indicate ways whereby the missionary work may be made more effective. In order to have a better understanding of the present situation, a brief survey of the history of Indian missions and

a study of the relationship of the government to Missions will be made.

In the non-reservation boarding schools for Indians, one problem is to discover how the religious educational director may understand the differing backgrounds of these children. To begin where the child is and to help him to grow, one would need to know the family, environment, and tribal customs of each child. This is impossible but with the cooperation of the government social worker, and religious worker if there is one on the field from which the child comes, the director may to a measure approach this knowledge. Comparatively little has been done along this line of "learning where the child is" by the religious education directors in the government boarding schools for Indians. In this study we will discover something of the courses and methods of activity by which the directors in the fourteen non-reservation boarding schools attempt to develop these Indian children into the best Christian citizens which they are capable of becoming. A problem which naturally follows and which confronts all Religious Education Directors is to be able to evaluate their work; that is, to be able to judge the lasting results. In this study we will state the conclusions of the Directors of the boarding schools and those from other fields of Indian work on the results of the

religious teaching done in the Indian boarding schools in the lives of the pupils after they have finished their formal education.

One of the main sources of information for the study will be the answers received from a questionnaire sent to the religious educational workers in all the non-reservation boarding schools for Indians. We shall attempt to evaluate the findings of the questionnaire in the light of modern educational trends and compare it with reports of conferences and other surveys of Indian work and with an extensive Inter-church Survey of Indian fields, the results of which are published in the "Red Man of the United States" by G.E.E. Lindquist.

1. I have consulted the following references for the material in this section:

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Red Men in the United States"
2. Thomas C. Moffett, "American Indian on the New Trail"

2. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Red Men in the United States", p. 30

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES¹

"Indian" was the name given to the people whom Columbus discovered inhabiting the new land which he supposed to be India, but which is now called America. "All historians agree that the first contact of the Indian and the white man was not only amicable but cordial."² The Indians thought that the white man was sent by the "Great Spirit", and therefore they welcomed the strangers to share the land with them. This is pictured on the official seal of Florida by an Indian standing on the beach with outstretched hands of welcome. Many times in the early days the Indians helped the colonists when they were in need by sharing food, shelter, and friendly counsel.

Many of the first white people on the shores of America treated the Indians kindly and fairly. But as the colonists increased, new adventurers arrived with selfish motives who were careless of the rights of others, and especially those of the primitive and unprotected Indians. In the history of the United States, the treatment of the American Indian by the incoming peoples marks one of the blackest stories of injustice and greed ever written in innocent blood. In part, the conquest of the

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Red Men in the United States", p. 31

2. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail, p.3

Indian by the whites was the inevitable story of conquest by better armed unchristian peoples. It was similar to the practices of the stronger warlike Indian tribes. However, there has always been a finer spirit of justice and brotherhood among some of the white people toward the Indian who have felt outraged by the crimes committed. The first colonies were founded with a friendly attitude toward the natives of the land.

Wise plans were formulated notably in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia, to protect and advance the interests of the Indians, and with good results. Had that policy been universal throughout the colonies, and lived up to, there probably would be no Indian problem today.¹

The Indians were still in a primitive stage of civilization when the people of Europe discovered them. But they had developed some fine qualities of character, contributed to the understanding of nature, had cultivated some plants, and had developed some distinctive arts, which they shared as their peculiar gifts to the world. The "old world" had much that they could share with the Indians had not selfish greed destroyed the spirit of brotherhood which made mutual sharing possible.

The North American native stock has been estimated as the highest type of pagan and uncivilized man--the finest raw material that civilization ever had presented to it for working into a better product.²

Each nation that colonized the new world did so with the imparting of the Christian religion to the Indian as a

1. Thomas C. Moffett, "American Indian on the New Trail, p.64,65

2. I have consulted the following references for the material
in this section:

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Red Men in the United States"
2. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
3. A.C. Thompson, "Protestant Missions"
4. W.B. Stewart, "Early Baptist Missionaries and Pioneers"
5. Vedder, "A Short History of Baptist Missions"
6. A. L. Veil, "The Morning Hour of American Baptist Missions"
7. James B. Dennis, "Christian Missions and Social Progress, Vol.

3. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Red Men in the United States"

part of its stated purpose.

On the seal of the Massachusetts Colony was the figure of an Indian, and the legend "Come over and help us". The first Royal Charter affirms that "to wynn and incite the natives of the Country to the Knowledge and Obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of Mankind is our Royall Intencion, and the Adventurer's free Profession is the principall ende of this Plantacion".

It is impossible to trace all the stories of the sacrificial Christian service given to win the Indian brother to the Christian faith and life but a chart at the end of this chapter will readily show years of Missionary service given by men and women of different faiths with various tribes or groups; and there follows the stories of a few of the outstanding pioneers of the different sections of the country.

Roger Williams, Pioneer Missionary to the Indians of New England²

The history of Indian missions began with the landing of Columbus, as he held the Cross before the eyes of the astonished natives.³

Preceding Eliot by twelve years, Roger Williams was the first missionary among the American Indians. His work was started on his own initiative in 1631 and was an independent work, so he is often not listed among the pioneer missionaries to the Indians. While he was pastor at Plymouth he became acquainted with the Wampanoag

1. W.S. Stewart, "Early Baptist Missionaries and Pioneers", Vol. 1 p. 25
2. James S. Dennis, "Christian Missions and Social Progress", Vol. 3, p. 372
3. W.S. Stewart, "Early Baptist Missionaries and Pioneers", Vol. 1, p. 32

and Narragansets and learned their language. He was a consistent friend to the Indians and lived among them long enough for them to know him. He soon had an occasion to be very grateful for this for when his radical views caused him to be banished from Massachusetts colony, he was welcomed by Massasoit and other friendly Indians who probably saved his life. When he decided to found Providence, he bought the land from his friends, the Narraganset tribe. "He who would not force a man to accept his creed, would not force a man to give him his land."¹ Because of his fair and just treatment of them, he received their respect and friendship and their protection when the tribes of that territory rose up to try to wipe the white people from the land which they had taken unjustly from the Indians.

The Royal Charter of Rhode Island, granted in 1663 by Charles II. to a band of colonists, among whom was Roger Williams, contains the following statement of one of the leading motives which influenced them in seeking the charter. It is stated to be " that they, pursueing, with peaceable and loyall mindes, their sober, serious, and religious intentions, of godlie edifieing themselves, and one another, in the holie Christian faith and worshipp as they were perswaded; together with the gaineing over and conversione of the poore ignorant Indian natives, in those partes of America, to the sincere professione and obedience of the ffaith and worshipp."²

"Williams, who was a century ahead of his times in kindly and loving treatment of the Indians,"³ had

often counseled the Indians to stop their terrible raids upon the colonists. He understood that the cause of the hatred was largely the manner in which the colonists had secured their land and the general attitude that the Indians were not entitled to privileges, or that they did not deserve the right to the treaties made with them if those treaties interfered with the "progress" of the interests of the whites. Also, the liquor which the settlers furnished to the Indians was veritable "fire-water" as it made them crazy and drove them to desperate deeds. But Williams also knew and warned his friends that the whites would eventually get revenge because of their resources of ammunitions and guns and better knowledge of warfare. After Massasoit died in 1660, his son, King Philip, began warfare with the whites, which went on for about a year with great intensity. When they approached Rhode Island, Roger Williams, in Providence, watched his people from the whole community which he had helped to form come together to his home as to a fort. He also looked up to the nearby hill where the Narraganset Indians who were intent on making war were camped. These also were his children whom he loved and to whom he had preached. He went to them unarmed as he had gone before when his advice had saved the Massachusetts colony that had banished him. He was received kindly. The Indians listened in silence as

1. W. W. Stewart, "Early Baptist Missionaries and Pioneers,
Vol. 1, p. 35

2. A. C. Thompson, "Protestant Missions", p. 108

he warned them of coming revenge, and pled with them to cease the bloodshed. They politely told him that they would finish what they had begun, but that he would be unharmed because he was a good man and had been their friend for many years. He was very sad as he returned to the camp.

These were both his children. They were going to fight each other--the white men who had followed him as their leader to found a new colony, the red men who had looked to him as their friend. He must witness the battle. He loved them both. His was soul-anguish as he came back to his home after his visit.¹

That Roger Williams was a great influence for good among the Indians there is no doubt, but he left little evidence of his work for he built and organized no schools or churches for them. However, his influence was great and we can never know how many lived better lives or how many later joined some other mission because of his influence. For some reason he seemed not to choose to baptize them as converts himself. He has stated:

I could readily have brought the whole country to have observed one day in seven, to have received a baptism or washing, though it were in rivers, as the first Christians and the Lord Jesus himself did; to have come to a stated church meeting, maintained priests and forms of prayer, ² and a whole form of antichristian worship.

A great contribution which Williams gave to the world was a book, "A Key to the Language of America", which

1. A. C. Thompson, "Protestant Missions", p.107

2. I have consulted the following references for the material in this section:

1. W. Pakenham Walsh, "Heroes of the Mission Field"
2. James S. Dennis, "Christian Missions and Social Progress"
3. Old South Leaflets, Vol. 6
4. A.C. Thompson, "Protestant Missions"
5. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
6. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Red Man in the United States"
7. Henry C. Vedder, "A Short History of Baptist Missions"
8. Arthur Judson Brown, "One Hundred Years"

was the first study of the Indian language to be printed.

Roger Williams was the first to publish a vocabulary of the Indian language. It was prepared during a voyage to England and entitled, "A Key to the Language of America" (London, 1643)....With reference to acquiring this vernacular he states: "God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem, to gain their tongue." In the key he states that many hundreds of times "he had preached to great numbers, to their great delight and great convictions," "with all sorts of nations of them, from one end of the country to the other." Certain limitations to this are obvious.¹

John Eliot, Founder of villages of "Praying Indians" in New England

John Eliot was a graduate of Oxford, a linguist, and a scholar. Because of his Puritan beliefs, he came to Boston, America in November, 1631. He was then twenty-seven years old. He became pastor of the church at Roxbury, now a suburb of Boston. He became interested in learning the language of the Indians, and had an Indian boy live with him to help him. It was a very difficult task as there was no alphabet, or written language, and the form of the language was very different

1. W. Pakenham Walsh, "Heroes of the Mission Field"
p.191

2. Ibid, p. 192

3. The Daybreaking of the Gospel with the Indians,
Old South Leaflets, Vol. 6, p. 381,382

from any of the languages he had studied. This is the nearest word for "catechism" that he discovered: "kummogokdonattottammocititeaongannunnonash."¹

"It was on the 28th of October, 1646, that he made his first use of this laborious acquisition."² He had arranged to meet a group of Indians near Roxbury. As he and three companions approached, they were met by five or six chiefs and given the English salutations for welcome, and led to the wigwam of Waaubon, where they found a large group of the people waiting to listen to them. The following brief outline of this meeting is quite typical of many other similar meetings. The leader led in a prayer in English as he did not feel sufficiently accustomed to the Indian language to use it for prayer. Then for about an hour and a quarter he preached to them, beginning with the ten commandments, and explaining them briefly, and then showing the wrath of God for all those who did not obey them, and of Jesus Christ the only means of salvation for all those who have sinned, and of the creation of the world and the fall of man, also many things which would help them to understand the true nature of the gospel. He asked the Indians if they understood what had been said to them and they answered that they did. They were then allowed to ask any question of the English which they also answered in the Indian language.³ The following were asked:

1. What was the cause of Thunder.
2. Of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea.
3. Of the wind) but the questions(which wee thinke some speciall wisdom of God directed these unto) (which these propounded) were in number six.

How may we come to know Jesus Christ?

Our first answer was, That if they were able to read our Bible, the book of God, therein they should see most cleerely what Jesus Christ was: but because they could not do that; therefore, Secondly, we wish them to thinke., and meditate of so much as had been taught them, and which they now heard out of Gods booke--a third helpe, which was,

Prayer to God to teach them and reveale Jesus Christ unto them;---

The last helpe wee gave them was repentance,-- His question therefore was, whether Jesus Christ did understand, or God did understand Indian prayers (Answer--concerning the maker of the Indian basket knowing about all the materials used, and God, the maker of all mankind understanding all his children.)

Another propounded this question after this answer, Whether English men were ever at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as themselves? (Answer, English who are bad are as ignorant of God as they, it is only those who repent, and seek God through Christ who know Him.)

How can there be an Image of God, because it's forbidden in the second Commandment?----

Whether, if the father bee naught, and the child good, will God bee offended with that child, because on the second Commandment it's said, that hee visits the sinnes of fathers upon the children?

Wee told them the plainest answer wee could thinke of, viz, that if the child bee good, and the father bad, God will not bee offended with the child, if hee repents of his owne and his fathers sinnes, and followes not the steps of his wicked father; but if the child bee also bad, then God will visit the sins of fathers upon them, and therefore wisht them to consider of the other part of the promise made to thousands of them that love God and the Evangenesh Jehovah, i.e. the Commandments of Jehovah.

How all the world is become so full of people,

if they were all once drowned in the Flood? Wee told them the story and causes of Ngahs preservation in the Arke at large, and so their questioning ended; and therefore wee then say our time of propounding some few questions to them, and so take occasion thereby to open matters of God more fully.

Our first question was, whether they did not desire to see God, and were not tempted to thinke that there was no God, because they cannot see him?

Some of them replied thus: that indeed they did desire to see him if it could bee, but they had heard from us that hee could not be seene, and they did believe that though their eyes could not see him, yet that hee was to bee seene with their soule within: (They explained, If they saw a great wigwam, they would think some wise man had made it, so when they saw the great universe, they would understand that God had made it.)

We knowing that a great block in their way to believing is that there should bee but one God, (by the profession of the English) and yet this God in many places, therefore we asked them whether it did not seeme strange that there should bee but one God, and yet this God in Massachusets, at Coneetacut, at Quimipeilock, in old England, in this Wigwam, in the next everywhere.

Their answer was by one most sober among them, that indeed it was strange, as every thing else they heard preached was strange also, and they were wonderfull things which they never heard of before; but yet they thought it might bee true, and that God was so big every where -- (They illustrate by the sun.)

Whether they did not finde somewhat troublin them within after the commission of sin, as murther, adultery, theft, lying, &c. and what they thinke would comfort them against that trouble when they die and appear before God, (for some knowledge of the immortality of the soule almost all of them have.)

They told us they were troubled, but they could not tell what to say to it, what should comfort them; hee therefore who spake to them at first concluded with a dolefull description (so farre as his ability to speake in that tongue would carry him) of the trembling and mourning condition

1. The Daybreaking of the Gospel with the Indians,
Old South Leaflets, Vol 6, pp. 383-387.
2. W. Pakenham Walsh, "Heroes of the Mission Field", p. 196
3. Thomas C. Loffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail,
p. 66

of every soul that dies in sinne, and that shall be cast out of favour with God.

Thus after three houres time thus spent with them, wee asked them if they were not weary, and they answered, No. But wee resolved to leave them with an appetite: the chiefe of them seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when wee would come againe, so wee appointed the time, and having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco and what else we then had at hand, they desired some more ground to build a Town together, which wee did much like of, promising to speake for them to the generall Court, that they might possesse all the compasse of that hill, upon which their Wigwams then stood, and so wee departed with many welcomes from them.¹

John Eliot's contacts with the Indians persuaded many of them to become Christians. It seemed necessary to him and no doubt was wise to separate these Christian Indians and help them to form villages "of praying Indians". W. Pakenham Walsh states that in 1674 there were at least seven of such towns and about eleven hundred people in them.² Thomas C. Moffett tells of fifteen of these towns, of which Nonantum, now Newton, and Natick were the chief.³ The village of Concord was established at the suggestion of the Indians themselves. It was helpful to have the Indians settled in permanent places instead of roving about in order to instruct them in reading, in Christian living, and in the industrial arts which they would need to develop in order to make their way among the civilized white people of the community. Eliot was able to enlist the help of John and Josiah Cotton and Mayhew, and skilled carpenters, mechanics, and men

1. The Daybreaking of the Gospel with the Indians,
Old South Leaflets, Vol. 6, p.404

skilled in agriculture and other necessary occupations to help him train these different villages in the ways of the civilized man. John Eliot did not give up his pastorate in the church at Roxbury and so did not devote his entire time to the work among his Indian friends.

Many of the Indians desired their children to go to school. Schools were provided for them and they showed themselves quite able to master the lessons, some of them taking their places beside the English in classes of Greek and Latin.¹ The second building of Harvard was founded at this time especially for Indians.

John Eliot was very anxious for the Indians to have the Bible in their own language, so he applied himself to the stupendous task of translating it into the Indian language. The language was very difficult to put into writing, and especially hard in respect to the Bible because many of the words of the Bible had no corresponding word in the Mohican language. He did what modern scholars are accepting now as the wise thing, that is to use an unfamiliar or new, or perhaps the English word, instead of trying to bring a word which had pagan associations and converting it into the Christian meaning. The New Testament was printed in 1661, and the Old Testament in 1663. This was the first Bible to be printed in America. Two editions of both Testaments were printed. Many of

1. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail", p. 68

2. A.C. Thompson, "Protestant Missions", p. 69

them were destroyed during the wars which followed, but a few copies still exist. A perfect copy is in possession of Mrs. R. A. Cutter, a descendent of John Eliot. However there is no Indian living today that can read the language in which it is written.¹

Eliot believed in thorough training of all young converts. He took great pains in his classes of catechumens, both of the children and of the older Indians. One group that gave convincing evidence of a change of heart he had in a class for six or eight years. In 1660 the first Indian church was organized.² Cotton Mather was impressed after a visit to one of the villages of "praying Indians" by their earnestness during prayer and their study of the Bible and their discussions together. They were very strict about keeping all the rules of the church. One time an Indian reproved an Englishman for working on the Sabbath. John Eliot was also very careful in his training of native pastors, having a school for Indian ministers, and at one time he reported that there were twenty-four trained pastors who could talk the native language.

The work of John Eliot was so successful that it brought upon him hostilities from some of the English and some of the Indian chiefs. Some of the traders in furs criticized him for the falling off of their trade because he had encouraged the Christian Indians to leave their

roaming life and settle in villages. Others thought his efforts foolish. The opposition of some of the powerful Indian chiefs was brought to him because they feared their authority if this man continued to change so many of their people and lead them to have first loyalty to God. Whenever the white people sold liquor to the Indians, although of course the Christians were not allowed to partake, it caused much trouble for all. But the greatest disappointment to John Eliot and the greatest setback to the Christian cause came at the time of King Philip's war. Much can be said of the brutality and injustice of both sides, but that is not the subject at hand. Most of the villages of "praying Indians" were removed or destroyed during the conflict. Some of the Christians stood true to their benefactors and refused to help their brothers in the war while others sympathies for their own people made them enter into the battles against the intruding whites. Some of the Christians lost the confidence of both the English and their own people because of the intense feeling on both sides. This period was most lamentable and discouraging.

It might seem that all of the work of this "great Apostle to the Indians", John Eliot, was lost and his efforts had failed. But such is not the case. He was probably the most successful missionary to the Indians during the history of Protestant missions. In the year

1. James S. Dennis, "Christian Missions and Social Progress",
p. 374
2. W. Pakenham Walsh, "Heroes of the Mission Field", p. 203

1700 it is estimated that there were several thousand Christian Indians in New England.¹ In 1686 Eliot wrote concerning six churches, 18 assemblies of catechumens.² Who can estimate the good done when so many souls are saved, and Christian leaders trained? Also, the inspiration of his life caused others to become interested in the Indians, and great missionaries like David Brainerd and the five generations of Mayhews and the Cotton family, and Cotton Mather, and Treat, Edwards, Horton, Zeisberger, and many others were influenced by his sacrificial life. At this time the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and a little later the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts were all organized because of the missionary interest which was largely started by John Eliot's work. His splendid life of devotion and service has been an inspiration to countless Christians in an ever widening circle around the world.

How could one man accomplish so much and have such a wide influence? He was very generous, and did not think of himself. On one occasion the treasurer planned to pay him his salary, but knowing his disposition, he tied the handkerchief in which he was giving him the money into as many knots as possible. On the way home he called upon a poor widow who was in need. He tried to undo the knots and give her some money, but he found them so hard that

1. W. Fawcett Walsh, "Heroes of the Mission Field", p. 197

2. Ibid, p. 197

3. Ibid, p. 197

4. Ibid, p. 204

5. Ibid, p. 207

he gave it all to her, saying, "Here, take it; I believe the Lord intends that you should get it all!"¹ Another reason for his wide influence was that he did the difficult thing and was willing to endure hardships cheerfully.

Speaking of one of his itinerations, he says, "I have not been dry night nor day from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at night pulled off my boots, wrung my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered the word of God in II Timothy 11.3, 'endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.'²

But probably the greatest reason for his success was his dependence upon God. Walsh says: "Eliot was distinguished by great perseverance, unfailing cheerfulness, and good common sense, but that which made him mighty was his spirit of love and his spirit of prayer."³ "He was eighty-six when, on the 20th May, 1690, he entered into rest. His last utterances were these: 'Welcome joy!' 'Lord, only let Thy work amongst the Indians live after my decease!' 'Come, Lord, come!'"⁴ He died as he had lived with the thought that he was working with God in His work among the Indians. The motto which he placed at the end of his own Indian grammar probably gives as good a summary of his life as possible: "PRAYERS AND PAINS, THROUGH FAITH IN JESUS CHRIST, WILL DO ANYTHING."⁵

1. I have consulted the following references for the material in this section:

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States"
2. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
3. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, "The Missions and Missionaries of California" Vol. 2,3,4.

1. Engelhardt, "Missions and Missionaries of California",
p. 4

Friar Serra and Friar Crespi - Missionaries to the California Indians¹

America was discovered by Spanish navigators who soon brought the Spanish Catholic missionaries to the new land. A series of Missions among the Indians were developed in Lower California. About two centuries later, in 1768, the King of Spain realized that his possessions in California were in danger from the Russians, and he asked Viceroy De Croix of New Spain to take the necessary steps to make the territory permanently secure for Spain. The Viceroy referred the matter to Inspector-General Don José de Gálvez who established and defended the ports of San Diego and Monterey.

The experience of the two centuries in Lower California had taught the Spanish that they needed to convert the natives to the Christian religion in order to make them loyal subjects. "Gálvez, therefore, invited Friar Junípero Serra, the Superior of the Franciscans in Lower California, to undertake the conversion to Christianity of all the Indians living in the regions to be secured for the Crown of Spain."¹ Friar Serra enthusiastically agreed to undertake this and led a band of missionaries into California himself. Gálvez wished it to appear that the undertaking was for religious purposes, and he said in his instructions to San Carlos, the Inspector-General: "The object is to establish the Catholic Faith, to extend

1. Engelhardt, "Missions and Missionaries of California"
p. 5

the Spanish domain, to check the ambitious schemes of a foreign nation, and to carry out a plan formed by Felipe III as early as 1606. Hence no pains can be spared without offense to God, the King, and the country.'"¹ The expenses for the undertaking were paid from the Pious Fund of the Catholic church. The Pious Fund was made up of voluntary gifts of individuals and religious bodies in Mexico and was used by the Society of Jesus to propagate the Catholic faith in California. The plan for the new missions was to form agricultural communities similar to some in Mexico. Therefore supplies of farm implements and seeds were sent by boat, and two hundred head of cattle were sent with the land expedition led by Friar Serra.

An interesting incident took place when the boat San Antonio anchored near an island in the Santa Barbara Channel. The sailors and two friars went ashore. After they had returned to the boat, they found that they had left a staff surmounted by a cross on the island. They expected that the Indians with whom they had exchanged gifts would appropriate the cross, but to their surprise the next morning an Indian returned it. The island was named Santa Cruz, in memory of this incident.

The boat, San Antonio, waited in the harbor until the arrival of another boat, the San Carlos, which had been detained because of heavy storms and an epidemic of scurvy which had afflicted all the sailors except the Captain.

The sick were taken ashore and cared for as well as possible. A group of Indian men led the strangers to a mountain stream near which was their village where they were invited to visit.

Near this camp Friar Serra and the soldiers made a rude chapel and on Sunday, July 16, they blessed the cross planted in front of the mission and blessed the mission, and proceeded with the service of High Mass and the sermon. This was the beginning of the first Mission in California which was called San Diego de Alcalá. The first missionaries were Friar Junipero Serra and Friar Fernando Parron who were of the Franciscan Order. However, they were unable for some time to induce the natives to come near and listen to a service. They would come and receive the gifts which were offered to them, and steal everything on which they could get their hands, except the food, but they would not become friendly. One Indian boy did come and visit their camp, and they tried to win his friendship with gifts and kindness in order that they could learn from him the Indian language. Also they sought to teach him the Spanish language hoping that eventually he might become their interpreter.

A band of Indians became insolent and troublesome, and shot arrows at the guards one day during service. The soldiers, unable to frighten them away, opened fire upon them and killed three and wounded a few others. The

1.

Engelhardt, "Missions and Missionaries of California, p. 29

Indians returned a little later unarmed to ask the Spanish to care for their wounded which they did with great pains. The Indians did not trouble them after that but neither did many come to visit with the strangers. With much patience Friar Serra made the boy understand that he should invite one of the parents to bring a young baby to receive baptism. A group finally came, but after the baby was properly dressed and the service had begun, proceeding to the point where the missionary was to pour the water on the baby's head, the Indians snatched the baby from the arms of the amazed priest and ran away.

Shortly after this incident Governor Portola and Friar Crespi with a group of sixty-five helpers started on their slow journey to the north. They met a few groups of Indians during their trip. They were able to baptize two infants who were about to die which made the missionaries feel that they had done some good during the journey. At the approximate site of San Juan Capistrano they met a group of Indians who were very hospitable as demonstrated by their offerings of food throughout the day. Friar Crespi relates: "'I made the gentiles say the acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, which, without understanding one word, they repeated with such fervor and tenderness that it re-echoed in my heart at least. They also devoutly venerated the crucifix.'" ¹ Altho they met with a few other groups of Indians during the journey, and

altho some of the groups were friendly and evidently of superior culture, they did not try to induce the natives to take part in other Christian services.

They had planned to meet a boat at Monterey harbor and establish a mission there, but realizing now that they had passed Monterey Bay without recognizing it, they turned back, seeking it. During the return trip, they camped on the shore of the Bay and set up a cross and strange as it may seem, they continued on their journey to San Diego without knowing they had seen the Bay they sought. When they reached San Diego, they found the group which had remained there also discouraged because of scarcity of food. The soldiers intended to desert the settlement, but the apparently providential appearance of a boat saved the two priests from being left alone with the natives in California. The "San Antonio" brought sufficient supplies to San Diego to make it possible to continue with their original plans. Again a group started by land to establish a mission at Monterey, and another group went by boat. They both arrived without experiencing any serious difficulties. They found that the cross which they had set up on their previous visit had been surrounded with arrows, and on the ground below the cross they found many clams, other offerings of food, ornaments, and feathers. They learned later that this was because the Indians had noticed the reverence

that the Spanish had shown to the cross, and that the cross at night had seemed to have an unnatural glow and form. They made their offerings so that the power represented in the cross would do them no harm, and that they might make peace with those who placed it there.

On the third day of June, 1770, a meeting was held to establish and consecrate the mission at Monterey. The entire group assembled near a large live oak tree where a bush shelter had been erected. The Priest sprinkled Holy Water on the cross they set up, on the rude chapel, and on the shore surrounding the chapel.

A very elaborate service was held, including High Mass, because of the importance of this occasion. Upon investigation they found that there was a scant supply of good water and tillable land in the place first selected, so Friar Serra made the suggestion that the mission be established on the banks of the Carmelo where he had found fertile land that could be irrigated. Plans were now made to establish missions along the coast so that they could communicate with each other and aid each other, and to which supplies might be brought occasionally by boat.

The zealous Friar Presidente at the same time urged De Croix to establish a chain of missions along the coast in order to render communication between them more easily, and to facilitate the conversion of the numerous

1. Engelhardt, "Missions and Missionaries of California, pp. 81-

savages encountered along the road from San Fernando de Valicata, Lower California, to the Port of San Francisco. For that purpose he prayed His Excellency to send more missionaries well provided with vestments, sacred vessels, house furniture, and especially agricultural implements, so that the Indians, besides becoming Christians, might be induced to lead an industrious and civilized life, and thus learn to support themselves. He also importuned his Superior, the Friar Guardian of San Fernando College, to the same effect. In his enthusiasm Friar Serra somewhat exaggerated the situation when he declared that, even though one hundred religious came to California, there would be work for all in gathering the spiritual harvest of souls which was then ripe. These letters reached Mexico at a most opportune moment; for only six weeks before, May 29th, 1770, forty-nine Franciscan friars had arrived from Spain to prepare themselves for missionary work at the famous College of San Fernando. When the viceroy received Friar Serra's petitions, he resolved to found ten new missions besides San Buenaventura and those already established. Five were to be located on the peninsula between San Fernando de Velicata and San Diego, and to bear the names respectively of San Joaquin, Santa Ana, San Juan Capistrano, San Pascual Baylon, and San Feliz de Cantalicio. The other five missions were to be erected between San Diego and the Port of San Francisco, and to be known as San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, Santa Clara, and San Francisco. At the request of De Croix and Don Galvez the College assigned thirty religious to California: twenty for the old missions on the peninsula, and ten for the five new missions proposed for Upper California, in order that there might be as the college constitutions required two friars at each establishment.¹

Material for the missions, including farm implements, and seeds were sent to them on the boat with the new missionaries. Friar Serra and Friar Crespi were very happy to have these new associates and the supplies which helped

1. Engelhardt, "Missions and Missionaries of California, "
p. 252

materialize their dreams sooner than they had expected. Also, to aid the work, ten thousand dollars, one thousand for each mission, was set aside from the Pious funds. De Croix also allowed each friar entering California four hundred dollars for traveling expenses. Also, the Captains of the Spanish ships were instructed to help the friars in every way possible. The founding of the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara was delayed for a few years because of the scarcity of guards.

For sixty-five years the friars worked in their missions, building the large mission buildings of adobe brick with the help of the Indians and developing these simple, peaceful natives into self-supporting Christians. These early priests had many hardships to endure and at times conditions were very discouraging, but the results certainly justified all the sacrifice which they experienced. Villages of Christian Indians were formed around the missions, for when a native desired Christian fellowship he could leave his tribe and join the communal life of the mission.

Friar Font, who came from afar and was an eye-witness, gives this information on the subject: "The method observed by the Fathers in the conversion of the Indians is to force no one to become a Christian. They admit only such as voluntarily come, teach them how to bless themselves and all the rest that is necessary. If they persevere at the catechism for two or three months with the same determination, and if they have acquired sufficient knowledge, then they are baptized."¹

The life in the Christian communities was very happy, and was so carefully regulated that in a few years the pagan, uncivilized natives had adjusted themselves to the Christian civilization and the agricultural industries. Englehart has collected facts concerning the regulations of these early missions, some of which are as follows:

In order to help the dull minds of the Indians to grasp the significance of the doctrinal points, and to excite the neophytes to practice virtue or avoid evil habits, the missionaries lined and decorated the walls of the chapels and corridors with statues and pictures of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, angels and saints, especially of the mission's patron saint. There were also pictures representing heaven, hell, death, judgment, purgatory, etc; and the fourteen Stations of the Cross were to be found in every mission. Processions were frequent, and the Indians fondly participated. The procession of Corpus Christi Day especially affected the childlike neophytes as nothing else could. Nevertheless, comparatively few comprehended the full significance of the Holy Eucharist. Notwithstanding the zeal of the friars, who would repeat the lessons over and over again, in order that the Indians might understand the divine truths to some degree, far from being "admitted to all the benefits of Christians after a few days of unintelligible instruction," as Forbes ignorantly asserts, a large number remained incapable of receiving holy Communion, just as they failed to grasp the full significance of citizenship.

The daily order at all the missions was as follows: At sunrise the bell called to church all the adults, that is to say, all over nine years of age. Holy Mass was celebrated by one of the Fathers, whilst the other recited aloud the prayers and the "Doctrines" with the Indians. At the conclusion the Alabado was sung after a melody which was the same at all the missions. Before being dismissed, during certain seasons of the year, an instruction in Spanish followed the celebration of Holy Mass. All would then take breakfast. This consisted of atole, a kind of gruel made by corn or grain which had been roasted before it was ground. It was prepared in large iron

bark or earthen vessels. The girls and young men took their meals in their respective quarters. After breakfast, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour, the men and larger boys went to the work assigned in the field, among the live-stock, or in the shops. The girls and single women found occupation under the care of the patron. At noon the Angelus Bell announced the time for dinner. This was served in the same manner as the breakfast, but consisted of pozole, a gruel to which meat, beans, peas, lentils, or garbanzos were added according to the seasons and means of the mission. Two hours were allowed for the meal and for rest. At two o'clock work was resumed, one of the missionaries encouraging the neophytes by his words and example. At about five o'clock work ceased, and the whole population went to church for the recitation of the "Doctrina" and religious devotions. On these occasions the Father would add an instruction in Spanish or Indian as appeared expedient for his polyglot audience. As usual the Alabado concluded the exercises. At six o'clock supper was served in the shape of stole. The remainder of the evening was passed in various amusements. In this matter the Indians enjoyed much latitude. They were permitted to indulge in the pastimes of their savage state as long as decency and Christian modesty were not offended.

The children received special attention. "In the morning," say the regulations, "as soon as the grown people shall have gone their way, and in the afternoon before sunset, the Fathers shall give instructions to the boys and girls who are five years old and more, and they shall permit none to be absent." These children generally assembled in the sala or large reception room. Furthermore the regulations direct, "The catechumens, those who are about to be married, and those who are preparing to comply with the precept of annual confession, shall likewise attend these exercises in the morning and in the evening, in order that they may be instructed before receiving said holy Sacraments. The same shall be observed with regard to those who, despite the daily exercises, may have forgotten the 'Doctrina'.

"On Sundays and feast days the Fathers shall exercise great vigilance lest any one neglect the principal Mass or the sermon which must be preached during that holy Sacrifice. On such occasions they shall explain the Gospel or the mysteries of our holy Faith, and they shall endeavor to adapt themselves to the dullness and the needs of the Indians. When holy Mass is concluded, one of the missionaries shall

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call every one by name from the Padron. The neophytes shall then approach one after the other to kiss the priests hand. Thus it will be seen when any one is missing. Those more capable and intelligent shall be exhorted to frequent the holy Sacraments in addition to complying with the precept of the Church, especially on great feasts."

On Sundays and holydays of obligation no work was performed; but after the divine service in the morning and after the devotional exercises in the afternoon, the neophytes were free to divert themselves to their heart's content. The singing at the High Mass was in Latin, of course. Instead of organ accompaniment, instrumental music was employed. The Indians composed the choir and sang from notes which were written on parchment in different colors to indicate the part which the respective singer had to follow. Fr. Estevan Tapis of San Juan Bautista was an expert in writing music; but other Fathers also practiced this method of notation. The afternoon devotions consisted of the Rosary, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and other short prayers in Spanish. All other devotional exercises, such as the Way of the Cross every Friday and more frequently in Lent, the prayers and singing during the processions, etc., were in Spanish. At Santa Clara, San Diego and doubtless at all the missions, though we have no records on the subject, the Christmas season was the pride and joy of the childlike neophytes; for then they could represent the Coming of the Savior. Everything was enacted as lifelike as possible. Mary, Joseph, the Shepherds, the Three Kings, etc. were impersonated by Indians. Other ecclesiastical seasons were similarly celebrated, and the instructions adapted to the occasion. In truth, a more kindly, patriarchal life hardly existed anywhere. Inasmuch as there were many holidays, and nothing worried the neophytes, surely no one was overworked save the heads of the great families, the missionaries.

The missionary work which was started by Friar Serra and Friar Crespi grew and spread until it was estimated that there were 30,000 of these Indians who were influenced by the missions. This splendid mission work was nearly

1. I have consulted the following references for the material in this section:

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States"
- 2.. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
3. Henry C. Vedder, "A Short History of Baptist Missions"
4. W. S. Stewart, "Early Baptist Missionaries and Pioneers"
Vol. I
5. S.F. Smith, "Missionary Sketches"
6. Walter N. Wyeth, "Isaac Mc Coy"

destroyed in 1833--1834 when the Mexican revolutionary government ordered the "secularization" of these missions and ordered the friars to leave. The new government confiscated the property and scattered or killed the Indians. According to the United States statistics, only about 3,000 of these Indians remain. The book "Ramona" by Helen Hunt Jackson tells about the conditions of the Indians living in the Missions and about their destruction by the Mexican government. Thus the work so nobly begun was unfortunately hampered in its prime, but no work which had influenced thousands of lives could be said to have come to an end---it lives, and will continue to live and influence the future history of the Indians, the Catholic Church, and life in general.

Isaac Mc Coy, Pioneer Missionary to the Indians in the Middle West¹

Isaac Mc Coy was born June 13th, 1784, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. The family later moved to Kentucky, and there he was converted in

1. Walter N. Wyeth, "Isaac Mc Coy" p. 10

2. Ibid. p. 10,11

his seventeenth year. Soon the conviction grew upon him that he should preach the Gospel. His "Call" to the ministry was somewhat unusual because the experience included the direction as to place of his ministry. In telling of his call in his autobiography he says:

I not only felt an impression to preach, but I felt strong impressions to publish salvation to the inhabitants of Vincennes. I could not account for these impressions, as I was an entire stranger to the place, and knew but little of it by information, and the accomplishment of such a thing seemed impracticable.

Mc Coy felt so definitely that this message was from God that he planned his life about it.

So carefully did he cherish his impressions that when making an engagement of marriage, "in settling the match he told her that he must move directly to Vincennes." In 1803 he was married to Christiana Polke, whose mother and three of her children had once been taken captive by the Indians, carried to the region of the northern lakes, and there held in captivity for several yearsTo run ahead of the story, Mrs. Mc Coy became a missionary, with her husband, to the identical tribe, the Ottawas, that had produced such suffering in her father's family.²

Six months after they were married Mr. and Mrs. Mc Coy moved to Vincennes, the capital of the Northwest Territory, which is located on the Wabash River. Because he found this an unhealthy

1. Walter N. Wyeth, "Isaac Mc Goy" p. 17

climate, he moved east and settled in Clarke County, Indiana. There he enjoyed preaching in the Silver Creek Baptist Church which later licensed him to preach. After three years he again moved to the Wabash valley which was a journey of one hundred and twenty miles and settled eight miles from Vincennes. He purchased fifty-four acres of land on Maria Creek where at times he practiced his trade of making wheels. The Maria Creek Baptist Church was soon organized of which he was pastor for eight years. He had frequent contacts with Indians, but mostly in defense against them. During this period he learned many lessons of pioneer life which proved helpful to him in later years. He conceived the idea of forming a missionary society. The Baptist Associations approved the plan and he was selected as their first missionary. "The Board of the Baptist Triennial Convention (now Missionary Union) gave him an appointment for one year with limitation of territory to a number of counties in Indiana¹ and Illinois."

Mr. Mc Goy, his wife, and six children started on the journey of ninety miles on October 27, 1818. They established the mission at Montezuma, Indiana, on

Raccoon Creek within the Wabash valley, but still in the wilderness. Here they started a school. At first they had only six pupils of whom five were white children. The tribes with whom he first came into contact were the Weas, Miamis, Kickapoos, and Delawares. Mr. C. Martin was the first teacher in the school. At first he was a disbeliever, but later he became a Christian. Mr. Johnston Lykins followed Martin as teacher. He also was an unbeliever at first, but later accepted Christ as his Saviour, and became a great power in the Kingdom work. The school grew in spite of handicaps of disease, lack of funds, and scarcity of food as well as lack of teachers. The mission was moved to Fort Wayne in 1820.

"White man's liquor" which was often supplied to the Indians resulted in insanity and debauchery and was one of the greatest handicaps to McCoy's work from the first to the last. He fought the curse with all his might but in spite of his efforts the menace grew. Much later in a conference with many important Indian chiefs McCoy took the opportunity to speak to them about the degrading influence of liquor.

A venerable chief surrounded by other chiefs and by a numerous offspring, who, like himself, were magnificently attired, made full confession of the weakness of the race as to strong drink, and its terrible ravages among them. Finally, elevating his dignified person, he remarked: "If our Great Father (President of the United States) feels such an

1. W. N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 123

2. W. N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 224

interest to preserve us as you mention, all powerful as he is, why does he not command his people to abstain from seeking, in the ways you mention, our destruction? He has but to will it, and it, and his will will be done. He can punish; he can save us from the rain which surrounds us. We can do nothing of ourselves. If whisky were not brought to us we should soon cease to think of it, and we should be happier and healthier."¹

In 1838 while the Mission was at Carey among the Potawatomes, when McCoy returned from a trip to Washington, he found a delegation of the Delawares waiting to confer with him. They had a resolution with them to which the majority of the tribe had agreed, which declared that they would make laws for the good of the tribe, and that they would begin with the one most needed - one against intemperance. The government officials had not encouraged them in this, but McCoy praised them, and helped them to draw up the proper documents, and to make the wise procedure. Altho such a radical change could not be made quickly, yet the sincere purpose and the elation of the people "had a happy effect for many months in diminishing the evil of intemperance."²

When he started work at Montezuma, he had difficulty in finding good interpreters. He could not speak the Indian language. At first he employed some Roman Catholic interpreters, who seemed friendly to him but he discovered by watching the reaction of the Indians that they were misrepresenting what he said. He determined to learn the language himself. Many things, such as necessary trips

1. W. N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 28

away from the field, illness, and pressing duties at the mission interrupted this purpose.

He found it necessary to make many long and extended trips visiting the different Indian tribes. He was usually accompanied on these trips by an Indian who helped him to become acquainted with their language and customs and who helped to develop a sympathetic understanding between him and the tribes. These trips were very difficult as they must travel through trackless wilderness and forest, and through swollen streams over which there were no bridges. The lack of proper food, the exposure, the vermin of the unsanitary Indian huts, usually caused McCoy to become very sick during each of these trips. Also, supplies were very difficult to obtain in this isolated place and McCoy or some of the trusted men had to make difficult and long trips to transport the necessities to the Mission. Many times Mrs. McCoy and those for whom she was responsible at the Mission were on very short rations before the supplies arrived.

Mr. McCoy perseveringly sought permission to settle at the Miami villages on the Mississinewa, but finally was persuaded by the agent and the Miami chief to remove to Fort Wayne, a central point for trading and making acquaintance with the several tribes. Buildings and garden were offered to him without charge; and as confidence in the interest of the Christian public was not sufficient to justify an expectation of recruits and means for erecting buildings, he resolved to accept the offer. The number at the Mission had increased and Mrs. McCoy was overworked and "seemed to be sinking with fatigue and anxiety."¹

On May 3rd, 1820, McCoy started with his family and

all the members of the school for their new location at Fort Wayne. After eleven days of dangerous and difficult travel, they reached their destination. Rain had made it unpleasant to travel and to sleep on the ground, and the curiosity and unfaithfulness of the Indians made the way disagreeable, if not unsafe. About two weeks after they had moved into their new buildings, school began. The school continued to grow and prosper because of the vision and untiring efforts of both Mr. and Mrs. McCoy. There were problems that confronted the progress of the work most of the time. The first was the lack of funds, and the consequent need of going into debt for the necessities of the school. The Mission Board did not supply funds except as the gifts were designated for that work. Governor Cass aided McCoy with food and clothing for the students and funds for the salaries of the teachers. Later when McCoy made a trip to Washington D.C. he was able to obtain federal government help for the school. The other problem was the lack of workers who were willing to experience the hardships of the life of the missionary to the Indians. A few came but did not stay long. Opportunities opened for mission work among other tribes, and it grieved one whose heart was consecrated to the work that he could not take advantage of these opportunities. In several instances in the report which McCoy sent to the editors of the American

- 1. Baptist Magazine, Vol. 4, 1823-24, p. 332

Baptist Magazine he writes about the need of missionaries.

One instance is as follows:

A prospect of missionary aid which seemed not liable to disappoint us, cherished a hope of being able to improve the opening presented among the Ottawas on Grand River of Lake Michigan. The Indians had set apart one mile square of land for the location of the establishment, and I had made arrangements for a blacksmith, together with tools, iron, steel, etc. for the erection of four cabins, for axes, hoes &c. and wagon and team, all at the expense of the United States, which had also provided a salary of \$400. per ann. for a missionary to serve as "teacher for the Ottawas," and furnished two labourers to assist and encourage these Indians in agriculture. So favourable an opening for missionary labours, we believed, had never been presented among the natives of our forests. But when the time arrived for the station to be occupied, we were again disappointed, and those whom we expected to go thither, declined the undertaking. Consequently, we have been able to do nothing more for those people than to give them a blacksmith, and to encourage them by means of the labourers provided by government, to cultivate their lands, while the disappointment has been attended with perplexity and loss to mission. This opening, however, continues to be inviting: we hope to maintain the field, and occupy it in proportion to our means and the increase of missionaries.

McCoy heard that among the Putawatomes there was a man called Menominee, who led his people to forsake the evil of their old life and accept the better ways of living. Feeling that he wanted to encourage any such helpful influence, he invited Menominee to visit him. This unusual leader came and spent several days preaching, praying, and talking with the missionary. Altho he was ignorant of the Christian religion, his work had been uplifting. When McCoy praised his work

1. W.N.Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 38

2. Ibid, p. 40

he was happy and said: "Now I will go home and preach to the people all my life. I will tell them that my father says I tell the truth."¹

Menominee and his people looked forward with eagerness to the visit of McCoy to their land. Altho his health was poor he made the journey because he saw the possibility of a new work. He was met by Menominee, the chief, and others who expressed their joy because of his visit in every way they knew. Menominee called his people who lived in four small bark huts and informed them that their great teacher had come. "'I was no sooner seated,' continues Mr. McCoy, 'than men, women, and children came around and gave me their hand. Even infants were brought, that I might take them by the hand.'"² Pcheeko, a neighboring chief, was summoned by Menominee. He and his people greeted him in the same manner. McCoy was very happy to preach, sing, and pray with them. He also visited the village of Pcheeko, who tried to surpass Menominee in his expression of welcome. McCoy was much impressed with the opportunity which their welcome showed.

At an important meeting in Chicago where a treaty between the government and the Indians was made, the new location of the mission among the Putawatomes was made possible. The tribe gave a mile square for the

1. W.N.Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 45

2. W.N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 53

mission, and the government gave a teacher and a blacksmith and \$1,000 annually for fifteen years toward their support. A Roman Catholic told the Indian Commissioner that the Indians wanted a Catholic teacher, but the Putawatomies, as soon as they understood the issue, asked for McCoy. The government gave the position to him, and he held it for years until he left it to go into the Indian Territory in 1828.¹

During a later visit to the Putawatomies, McCoy investigated the land intended as the location of the mission. He talked to them about the values of civilization and again about religion. After a short recess, the following reply was made to his address:

"Our Father, we are glad to see you among us, and to hear you. We are convinced that you come among us from motives of charity toward us. We believe that you know what to tell us, and what you tell us the truth. We are glad to hear that you are coming to live near us, and when you shall have arrived we will visit your house often, and hear you speak of these good things."²

In 1822 McCoy and twenty-two of the mission family started from Fort Wayne for the new location on the St. Joseph's river. They had a difficult journey as was natural over such a wilderness. McCoy preached on the Sabbath, and then returned to Fort Wayne. He found it necessary to make a trip to Ohio at that time. When he returned he had an encouraging farewell meeting

1. W. N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 68

with the Miamis at which time we promised to establish a mission for them later. On December 9, 1822, he and the 32 remaining members of the school started for the new station at St. Joseph's river.

"Our location," says Mr. McCoy, "was about one hundred miles from Fort Wayne, at which place were the nearest white inhabitants. We were about one hundred and eighty miles from anything like a settled country, and one hundred and ninety miles from a flouring mill. This place (among the Putawatemies) was, by the Board, denominated 'Carey', and the station among the Ottawas was called 'Thomas', out of respect for the celebrated Baptist missionaries of these names who first penetrated Hindoostan." The first was on the site of the present town of Miles, Michigan, and the second on that of the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan.¹

At this location it was naturally very difficult to obtain supplies. The hardships they endured while waiting for food certainly proved the ingenuity and the courageous character of the missionaries. The response of the Indians and traders of the neighborhood showed their friendship and generosity. It is another proof of the oft repeated statement: "No Indian will starve while any of the tribe have food." In this case they considered the missionaries as members of their own group. The following notes taken from the "mission journals" show the situation still further.

Feb. 8. Breakfasted upon the corn we had procured the preceding day. Blessed be God, we have not yet suffered for want of food, because corn is an excellent substitute for bread. But having now eaten our last corn

1. W. N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 70

we can not avoid feeling some uneasiness about our next meal.

He records the remembrance of God, at this critical time, in these words:

I had, however, scarcely traveled out of sight of our house when an old Putawatomie widow, our nearest neighbor, who herself had not a particle of anything to eat except her small stock of corn and beans, sent the family sweet corn enough for a plentiful meal for our whole family. Thus we had scarcely eaten our last meal when God sent us another.¹

The word was passed on that the mission was in need of food , so the other Indians brought of their meager fare until the wagons bearing the mission supplies arrived.

In order to travel from one place to another, and in order to transport the food and clothing and other necessary goods, they had to cross unbridged rivers and endure other difficulties of the wilderness.

On the 16th of April the company, returning, left Fort Wayne for Carey. "The waters were so high" says Mr. M., "and the road so bad, that one wagoner, whom I had employed to transport property to our station, refused to proceed with his team, and I was under the necessity of storing up the load. With three wagons, one of which was our own, we set off, having in company Mr. and Miss Wright, who were hired to assist in the school, six hired men, and one Indian boy. We drove twelve head of cattle and one hundred and ten sheep. St. Mary's river was deep at this time, and we had no other craft than a large canoe with which to cross our wagons, baggage, and persons. Some of our oxen were unwilling to swim, and were dragged across by the horns. We had not proceeded more than three miles when we discovered that the earth was so soft that we could not get forward with our loads without more force of team. We encamped, and sent two men back to Fort Wayne, and procured two additional oxen and one horse.

A sentinel guarded the sheep all night, to prevent mischief by the wolves. We had not proceeded two miles on the second day when we were again compelled, by bad roads, to lighten our load. We sent a man back to Fort Wayne to get this property secured.

"On the 18th one yoke of oxen failed, so that their owner turned them loose. Some deep creeks were exceedingly troublesome, and the sheep had to be dragged through the water... It rained on us incessantly. At Elkhart river we halted, and made a periogue (large canoe) out of a single tree, intending to transport some of our loading down that river and the St. Joseph's to our place. The road along which we had thus far come was at this time considered, even by the Government express from the military post at Chicago, to be impassable; but the want at our station of such property as we carried with us had impelled us to make extraordinary efforts to get thus far.

"On the 24th we had our canoe in the river, in which we ferried our wagon, sheep, etc; horses and cattle swam. After crossing the stock, I took a few hands to collect them, and to select a camping place a short distance below, leaving three men to load the canoe with property that was to be freighted down the river, and to bring it to our encampment. We had but just settled ourselves at our camp when we discovered the periogue coming down, and went to the river bank to assist in landing it. Before it reached us it became entangled in a tree, from which it was not disengaged without taking water. The current was swift as a mill-race, and the periogue was no sooner disengaged from the first tree than it ran foul of another, and capsized. The loading was all turned into the river, and every one plunged into save eight and a half barrels of flour, two barrels of cornmeal, a little seed corn, a box of dried fruit, and a few articles of clothing. Some things were rescued from the water nearly two miles down the river. Our peas, potatoes, one barrel of flour, one of salt, and other property to some considerable amount, were lost, and some of that which we saved was much damaged. Our potatoes and some of our corn were for seed for the ensuing season; the articles designed for food we were confident we should greatly need at the station. Weary and wet, we surrounded our little fire in the woods, talked over our misfortunes, and felt that it was to us all a sorrowful evening."

1. Baptist Magazine, Vol. 4, 1824, p. 335

The necessity for the Indian girls and boys in the school to help with the work in the home, on the farm, and in the black smith shop was good training for them. It taught them the practical arts that they would need to know in order to find a fuller life and in order to fit into the white civilization which was crowding in about them. Living as they did with the teachers at the mission did much to show them the finer parts of our civilization. There follows an account of the activities for a typical day.

Business of the day at the Mission.

At the opening of day in summer, and at half past 4 o'clock in winter, the sounding of a trumpet calls us to rise. Soon after which, we are called by a bell to morning prayers; at which we also read and sing, and which in winter concludes at day-break. At half past 6 o'clock we breakfast. No distinctions are made at table in consequence of colour, and one of the missionaries superintends until the table is dismissed. The boys are directed to morning's, as well as evening's work. In summer, the schools are called at 8, dismissed at 12, called in again at 2, and dismissed at 5. About dusk in summer, and never later than 8 o'clock at night, in winter, evening prayers are attended, at which we read and expound a portion of scripture, sing, and pray. In winter, all are required to be silent after 9 o'clock.

P.M. 1

This plan of conducting the Mission was very satisfactory. When a government official visited the mission he made a very favorable report about the work.

At this time a second special commissioner, Hon. John L. Lieb, from the Government, visited the mission, and remained three days. His report is very full and specific. It contains such expressions as the following:

1. W. N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 104

"The arrangements of this school, its order, and the improvement of its pupils (sixty-three, of both sexes), excited in me the most delightful sensations.. Besides the Rev.Mr. McCoy, the superintendent, and his wife (an amiable and excellent woman) there are three male and one female teachers, all of whom, from a sense of their missionary obligations, devote themselves, without remuneration, to the diversified labors of the institution...I beheld a colony firmly settled, numerous, civilized, and happy, with every attendant blessing flowing from a well regulated, industrious, and religious community." The commissioner arrived early on Sunday morning, unexpectedly, and found "every member, of the institution engaged in devotional exercises."¹

Interest in religion grew at the mission, and often during the day one would hear one of the girls or boys asking some question of one of the teachers. Also interest was growing among the people of the community, as shown by the increasing desire to have their children attend the school. One mother came to the school bringing her nine year old daughter and asked that she might be allowed to attend the school. She said, "The Indians die very fast, so that it seems they will soon all be gone. I have brought my daughter hither in hope that she would learn something good before she die."² McCoy or one of his helpers preached at the school each Sunday at eleven o'clock. They also had Sunday School in the afternoons, and on the longer days they sang and had a lecture. Both the children at the school and the people in the camps listened very attentively to the religious messages brought to them. Their great interest

made McCoy wish that he might learn their language perfectly, and that he might devote most of his time to definite evangelistic work among them, but too often there were pressing needs in the school in order to keep it running and immediate need that he should take a journey on business that would affect the whole history of Indian work. When possible he and his helpers made it a practice to visit one or two Indian camps each Sunday to hold services. Miss Goodridge visited villages to hold conversation with the women. Interested Indians frequently asked when it would be "Prayer day" again. One chief came on a friendly visit to the mission before he should start on the year's hunt. He told them that he had decided to make himself a house and field. Previously he had been opposed to civilized ways. He asked how he could remember when "Prayer day" came. He waited till he had heard another sermon and then departed.

There follows an account of the first Sunday trip to a Putawatomie village.

As a first trial, Mr. McCoy, after preaching on a Sunday morning, went five miles to an Indian village, with an Indian boy as interpreter. By his winsome manner he was enabled to call the villagers from their labors and sports—a woman pounding corn in a mortar, others making moccasins, one preparing bark for the making of sacks, men playing cards, etc--- and of such to form a considerable and an attentive audience. There was a general

1. W. N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", . p. 98

2. Baptist Magazine, Vol. 5, p. 55

anxiety to hear more another time; as one said, for all: "We will be glad to hear you tell us about these things, that we may know how to please our Father"--God. The missionaries persevered in the practice of visiting one or two villages every Sabbath, and preaching to such as they could collect, many being compelled to be absent in quest of food. Miss Goodridge adopted the practice of visiting villages, particularly on Sundays, with a view to religious conversation with the women. All were gratified with the inquiry, following their work, as to when it would be Sunday, or "Prayer Day," as the Indians called it, thus showing their interest.¹

As a result of their earnest work several were baptized. Early in their labors a Delaware woman had believed and sought baptism. One Sunday on which they had planned to have baptism was stormy, so they waited until Monday, since the group was all together. They went to St. Joseph's river, a mile away where three boys were baptized. There was a light covering of snow on the ground, and the scenery was very beautiful and suitable for the impressive service. McCoy was so inspired by the occasion that he wrote a fine hymn. The following is a brief extract from his Journal at Carey for Monday, November 15, 1824: "We repaired to the river and baptized our three candidates all young men who had come hither for their own temporal advantage, where they have been blest with the pearl of great price--with durable riches and righteousness."²

The success of the mission work and the respect with which it was held by the churches and the government was

1. W. N. Wyeth, Isaac McCoy", p. 235

(Note: In the life of Spencer H. Cone, by his two sons, Edward W. and Spencer W. Cone, are some paragraphs upon the friendship of Dr. Cone and Mr. McCoy, the David and Jonathan of the warfare in which they were interested. The authors turned aside to pay particular tribute to the missionary whom their father supported, against the indifference of the mass of the denomination, and whose support they regarded as one of his great merits. (P. 233

due to the sacrificial spirit of its founder. This is somewhat shown in the family rules which the McCoy's and other missionaries and helpers agreed to. The first three of the twelve are as follows:

1st. We agree that our object in becoming missionaries, is to meliorate the condition of the Indians, and not to serve ourselves therefore,

2nd. We agree that our whole time, talents, and labours shall be dedicated to the obtaining of this object, and shall all be bestowed gratis, so that the mission cannot become indebted to any missionary for his or her services.

3rd. We agree that all remittances from the Board of Missions, and all monies, and property accruing to any of us, by salaries from government, by schools, by smith-shops, by donations, or from whatever quarter it may arise, shall be thrown into the common missionary fund, and shall be sacredly applied to the cause of this mission, and that no part of the property held by us at our stations is ours, or belongs to any of us. But with the exception of that intrusted to us by the United States, it belongs to the General Convention which we serve, and is held in trust by us so long as said Society shall continue us in their employ.¹

In the life story of Spencer H. Cone written by his sons, the following tribute to the honesty of McCoy is given.

What men of the world would think a foolish honesty prevented Mr. McCoy from being a very rich man. At almost every cession of their lands to the United States by the Indian tribes, they insisted upon making it one of the conditions of the cession that he should receive a part of the land conveyed, and the expression of their desire would have ensured the prompt acquiescence of the government. But he invariably and peremptorily forbade it. His

1. W. N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 235

desire was for the soul of the Indian, not for his lands; and his knowledge of human nature taught him that the least appearance even of a selfish care of his own interests would destroy his usefulness amongst them as a missionary. ¹

The object of much of his travels was to help bring about the organization and passage of a law creating the new Indian Territory west of the Mississippi river. He sought to help the Indians as he gave advice in Washington in regard to treaties that were being made. He surveyed the proposed territory and drew maps and made reports at Washington. He interviewed the Indian tribes which were concerned and encouraged them to have faith and accept the proposition. He was very anxious for the Indians to be moved to the other territory because he felt it would be to their advantage to have territory where the whites would not be so apt to offer liquor, the "Indians curse", to them. Missionary work would have an advantage if the Indians were away from the contaminating influence of the lower white element. McCoy was very influential in Washington, because of his knowledge of the situation of the Indians, and also because of his pleasing personality and forceful manner of writing. He sometimes wrote articles telling about the Indian situation at his own expense and distributed them to the officials.

1. W. N. Wyeth, " Isaac McCoy", p. 223

In the summer of 1838 the Government sought to realize fully its designs as to organizing the Indian Territory. It chose the acting superintendent and Mr. McCoy to bring the same before the southern tribes, speaking of the latter as specially qualified, "from his agency in originating the measure, and thus far prosecuting it to a successful issue." The honor of "originating the measure" is thus officially declared, and its adoption by the Government necessarily implied.¹

The remarkable career of this great man closed with another great contribution which he was of all men the most fitted to give. He spent the closing years of his life in literary and official service to the Indian cause. No man had studied the "Indian Reform" or understood the Indian people as well as he. He had a gentle and pleasing manner that made him appreciated by most people. He also had a forceful manner of writing which caused people to notice and accept the things he wrote. He had kept a journal during the twenty years that he had lived among and served the Indian people. This served as a basis for an extensive book of six hundred pages, called "A History of Baptist Indian Missions, 1840". It is now a very rare and valuable book. It tells many interesting details concerning the early life of the Indians of the middle West. One of his pamphlets, called, "The Practicability of Indian Reform" published in 1829 showed a breadth of understanding and his strong convictions concerning the Indian situation. He was instrumental in the forming of the new "American Indian

1. Walter N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 231

2. Walter N. Wyeth, "Isaac McCoy", p. 101

Mission Association". He moved to Louisville, Kentucky, as that was the headquarters of this new Association. Until his death in 1846 he gave himself unreservedly to the task of improving conditions among the Indians.

"On the first of June, 1846, he preached in Jeffersonville, and, on returning to Louisville, was caught in a shower, in consequence of which he took a cold which brought on a fever that terminated his life. He died on the 21st of June, after an illness of a little less than three weeks, in the sixty-third year of his age." -- Sprague.¹

Many years previous to his death, on occasion of a severe illness, the Indians became much concerned and said to each other: "If he should die, we shall not find another friend like him to help us. We are ignorant; we need advice and assistance, and we have but few friends; we very much desire his recovery."² Their wish was granted at that time, for the friend of the Indians spent a long life in loving service with them.

In an old cemetery in Louisville, Kentucky, is a neglected grave, at the head of which one may read the now dim inscription:

Rev. Isaac McCoy

Born June 13, 1784

Died June 21, 1836

(should be 1846)

For near thirty years his entire time and energies were devoted to the civil and religious improvement of the aboriginal tribes of this country. He projected and founded the plan of their colonization, their only hope, and the imperishable monument of his wisdom and benevolence.

1. Walter N. Wyeth, "Isaac Mc Coy" p. 236

2. Ibid. p.236

3. I have consulted the following references for material in this section:

1. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"

2. Kate Mac Beth, "The Nez Perces since Lewis and Clark"

3. A. J. Brown, "One Hundred Years".

4. Mary M. Crawford, "The Nez Perces Since Spalding"

5. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States"

4. Note: The Nez Perces declare that the custom of piercing noses was never common among them.

The Indians' friend--for them he toiled through life;
 For them in death he breathed his final prayer.
 Now from his toil he rests--the care, the strife,
 He waits in heaven, his works to follow there.¹

In harmony with the essence of his life, his last words were: "Tell the brethren to never let the Indian mission decline."²

The Whitmans and the Spaldings among the Nez Perces

The Nez Perces Indians were settled in the Kamiah valley when Lewis and Clark made their first trip through that country. They gave them that name because they saw some of them had pierced noses.⁴ Lewis and Clark and their company of white people were called, "So-yap-po" meaning the crowned ones, because of the hats they wore. When the white company first appeared among them the first impulse of these Indians was to kill them. Watku-ese was an old woman who lay dying in her tent while escaping from an enemy tribe, with whom she had been held prisoner. She had been befriended by white people. When she heard the talk about the strange people who were arriving, and plans to kill the new arrivals, she called to the Indians over and over again, "Do them no

1. Kate McBeth, "The Nez Perces Since Lewis and Clark",p. 25

2. Ibid, p. 29

3. Miss Kate McBeth, who was Missionary for 36 years following among the Nez Perces, was the author of the book which is the chief authority for much of this material. The McBeth sisters immediately followed Spalding on the field.

harm. They are the So-yap-po, the crowned ones, who were so kind to me. Do not be afraid of them, go near to them."¹ Cautiously they approached the strangers, and to their surprise they shook hands with them. They said to each other, "They handle us". Wat-ku-ese died soon after, but she had lived long enough to keep Lewis and Clark from being killed by the savage Nez Perces. The fear of the white faces soon vanished and they became friends.

Years later the Nez Perces conceived the idea of the worship of the sun as father and the earth as mother, and recalling the notions of Lewis and Clark and George's men (Hudson Bay Company) as they had worshiped, they thought that was what they had tried to tell them. Later they heard rumors that there was a greater God who had made both the sun and the earth, and they often would say to each other, "If we could only find the trail of Lewis and Clark, and follow it up, we would come to the light or the truth about what we have heard."²

About twenty-five years after Lewis and Clark had been with them, they "finished their minds" and sent four of their men in search of "the white men's book of heaven". Elder Billy Williams told Miss Kate McBeth³ that he well remembered when he was eight or ten years old riding out part of the way with the four as they started on their long journey. Black or Speaking Eagle

died in St. Louis; Man of the Morning or Daylight died in or near St. Louis; No horns on his head, died on the return trip; and Rabbit-Skin-Leggins, who was one of the two who made the visit to St. Louis was the only one who lived to report to his people about his trip and the promise of the white people to send a man with the Book of Heaven to them. The two in St. Louis were quite disappointed in spite of all the kindness shown to them. They could not know the far reaching results of their visit. It was providential that the parting speech which they made was taken down by a secretary and later published, for it was the immediate cause of a great interest on the part of the Methodist church and other Christian people in sending missionaries to these people. This is the touching address made in the American Fur Company's rooms in St. Louis, to General Clark who had befriended them:

I came to you over the long trail of many moons, from the land of the setting sun. You were the long ago friend of our fathers, who have all gone the long, dark way. I came with one eye partly opened, for more light for my people who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind to my blind people? I made my way to you with strong arms, through many enemies and strange lands, that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken. The fathers that came with us, the two old braves of many winters and wars, we leave asleep here by your great water and wigwams. They were tired in many moons and their mocassins wore out. My people sent me to get the white man's Book of Heaven. You took me where they worship the Great Spirit with lighted candles, and the Book was not there. You showed me the images of good spirits and pictures of the good land beyond, but the Book was

1. A.J. Brown, "One Hundred Years", pp. 166-67

2. Thomas C. Ruffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail",
p. 92

not among them to tell us the way. I am going back the long, and will to my people of the dark land. You make my feet heavy with burden of gifts and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among them. When I tell my blind people after one more snow, in the big council, that I did not bring back the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men or our young braves. One by one, they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go on the long path to the other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no white man's Book will make the way plain. I have no more words.¹

This pathetic appeal caused the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church to send out, in 1834, Jason Lee, with his nephew, Daniel Lee, and laymen, Sheperds and Edwards, as missionaries to the Nez Perces. They shipped their supplies around Cape Horn, but they themselves went with Captain Wyeth and an escort he provided. Captain Wyeth established a mission at Fort Hall, but the others pressed on to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River where the kindness of Dr. Mc Loughlin influenced them to start their mission in the Willamette valley. Thus a work was started which developed into a strong mission, and had far reaching results politically as well as religiously.

Dr. Lyman sums up the results of Lee's work as follows: "To Jason Lee, more than to any other one, unless we except Dr. Marcus Whitman, must be attributed the inauguration of that remarkable chain of cause and effect, a long line of sequence, by which Oregon and the Pacific Coast in general became American possessions, and the international destiny of our nation was secured!"²

Also in answer to the appeal of the Nez Perces, in 1835, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent out the Rev. Samuel Parker, and Dr. Marcus Whitman, a young medical doctor, to explore the Oregon territory, preparatory to sending missionaries. They met the Nez Perces at the Green River rendezvous and decided that Dr. Whitman should take two boys whom he called John and Richard back east with him to interest the churches in the project. Rev. Samuel Parker stopped to preach to the Sioux Indians. In 1836, as Henry Harmon Spalding and his new wife, Eliza Hart Spalding, were starting as missionaries to the Seneca Indians, Dr. Whitman overtook them and asked them to join him in the work among the Nez Perces. They agreed after much thought and prayer. Dr. Whitman married Narcissa Prentiss, and the two young couples, with Mr. W. H. Gray, who afterward became Oregon's historian, and the two Indian boys, who were very helpful on the way, started on their long journey, often called the long honeymoon trip.

Little can we conceive the inconveniences, not to say hardships, of that journey. There were rivers to ford, or skin rafts to be made for crossing, mountains to ascend and descend where a false step would mean broken bones or death. Safely they reached the rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains at Green River, in company with the Fur Company's men. Two days before they reached there they had a fright from the Indians, who, hearing of their approach, had come to meet them, but they soon saw a white cloth tied to a gun and knew they were friends. But how strange their actions! Horses and riders alike seemed crazy

1. Kate McBeth, "The Nez Perces since Lewis and Clark",

pp. 37-38

2. Ibid. p. 39

3. Ibid. p. 39

3. Mrs. Lawyer's husband was one of the Indian guides. She accompanied him.

4. Kate Mc Beth, "The Nez Perces since Lewis and Clark",
p. 39

with joy,--leaping, yelling, whirling around--no wonder the men, as well as the two women, were frightened. It was rather an unpleasant way the Nez Perces had to express their joy that the missionaries had indeed come. They expected to meet Parker there according to agreement, but instead found a letter from him, carried there by Nez Perces hands.¹

They continued on their way through Fort Hall, Fort Walla Walla, to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. There the ladies stayed while the four men, Dr. Whitman, Mr. Spalding, Mr. Gray, and Mr. Pambrum, the Hudson Bay Company representative, went to find the proper locations for the new mission buildings. The Whitmans worked among the Cayuse Indians and were located where the Mill creek enters the Walla Walla. The Spaldings located where there were good springs on the Lapwai creek, near the Clearwater river, where some of the apple trees which Mr. Spalding had planted were still standing in 1925. The white men had finally come with the "book of heaven" as they had promised. The Nez Perces spoke of Mrs. Spalding as, "so kind, so gentle, so altogether good."² Mrs. Lawyer³ said, "Why, she could talk quite well with us before we reached our own land."⁴

The Indians helped them build their new log cabin at Clearwater river which was their home and which served as school where Mrs. Spalding taught Domestic Arts as well as books, and also served for their meeting

1. Thomas C. Loeffelt, "The American Indian on the New Trail",
pp. 94-95
2. Clifford Merrill Drury, in his book, "Henry Harmon Spalding",
states that the chief reason for Whitman's ride was to save
Spalding and the Mission. The following is quoted from page 287
Whitman rode on mission business! He rode to save
Spalding! He rode to save his own station, Waiilatpu!
He rode to save the mission for many years of usefulness,
not only for the Indians, but for the emigrants as well.

place. The Indians built their "long tent" nearby so that they could be near their missionaries and take advantage of the school. Mr. Spalding cultivated the land and planted an orchard, and preached there and at other stations. Dr. Whitman started a medical and industrial work. Mrs. Whitman had a fine voice and led the Indians in singing which they loved to do. Dr. Whitman later gave inestimable service to our government through his dangerous trip to Washington in winter to save the Oregon territory for the United States.

As he mounted his cayuse pony and rode away, his last words were: "My life is of but little worth if I can save this country to the American people." Less like fact than fiction reads the story of this famous ride, covering a period of five long months and a distance of full 4,000 miles. Just what transpired at the capital is not definitely known, but certain it is that, in interviews with President Tyler and other statesmen, he impressed upon them the value of Oregon and its importance to the United States, and declared that the Rocky Mountains were not an impassable barrier, since he himself had crossed them four times, had taken a wagon over the mountains in 1836, and intended to return with a large party of emigrants in the early spring.¹

He returned with the emigrants the following year which made the number of United States settlers sufficiently impressive to save the territory for the United States. Largely due to his efforts the Oregon treaty was signed.²

This noble hero and his equally heroic wife were among the many who fell in the terrible massacre called the Whitman massacre. The Indians whom they had loved and served were aroused to this treacherous deed by different factors but largely by the selfish agents of the Hudson Bay Trading Company. Mr. and Mrs. Spalding were helped so that they escaped death, but later needed to leave the field for safety. Mrs. Spalding died in the Willamette valley in 1851. They had helped to organize the first church in the Oregon territory. They had been given a printing press, and had printed the first books in the Nez Perces language. They had won the hearts of the people to Jesus Christ, and had shown them the way by their own example. One notable instance of the effect of their example is when Mrs. Spalding would not flee for her life during the Whitman Massacre to the protection of the Christian Indians on the Sabbath day. Mr. Spalding returned to his beloved people in 1862 for three years, and again in 1871 and stayed until his death in 1874. One year previous, or in 1873, Miss S. L. Mc Beth arrived at Lapwai as teacher in the government school and six years later her sister Kate C. McBeth came as missionary. So the work of the splendid pioneers was passed on to other capable hands.

The above brief accounts of five of the episodes of pioneer missions to the Indians do not adequately cover the field. They are typical and outstanding examples of the early missionary work among the natives of America. In addition to the leaders considered, there are other splendid Missionaries. Among these may be mentioned: Count Zinzendorf, and David Zeisberger who were faithful missionaries under the Moravian church; Thomas Mayhew, who founded the first exclusively Indian school, and the four generations of Mayhews who followed him in splendid service; David Brainerd, whose short five year missionary service was very successful; Rev. John Cotton, and his son Josiah Cotton, who for sixty-eight years served in New England, and who were in some measure associated with David Brainerd and John Eliot; Samuel Treat who worked for forty-two years in the Cape Cod region; Stephen R. Riggs, Thomas S. Williamson who were pioneer missionaries to the Dakotas, commonly called the Sioux, and who served under the American Board; Bishop Whipple and Bishop Hare, of the Protestant Episcopal church, who did a work of far reaching influence among the Sioux in Minnesota; Samuel Worcester, who suffered injustice at the hands of the white people because of his missionary work among the Cherokees; and William Penn, who was one

1. Thomas C. Moffett, "American Indian on the New Trail"
p.75

of the great pioneers of the Friends faith, and who by his relationship with the Indians saved that territory from experiencing a horrible massacre like those of other sections.

One other name of a famous pioneer Indian missionary that must be included but which must stand by itself is that of Samson Occum, an Indian of the Mohican tribe. "He was a pupil of Eleazar Wheelock's Indian school near Norwich, Connecticut, he took up his work among the Montauk Indians on Long Island." ¹ Rev. George Whitefield took him to England and together they were able to raise \$60,000, for missions. This money was used in establishing Dartmouth College, at Hanover, New Hampshire, which was originally intended for Indian students. This splendid Christian Indian also created much interest in Indian work and won many influential friends, even King George III was interested in him. After his return he established Brothertown, in which the Mohicans lived beside the Oneidas, and where he sought to establish Christian brotherhood.

Throughout the history of the relationship of the white people with the Indian, the Indian has resented the aggression and the injustice of the intruder, but has usually welcomed the Christian messenger and his gifts when he has understood the

1. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
p. 62

2. Ibid. p. 62

3. The denominations and independent missionary societies which have conducted Christian work among the Indians are shown on the chart at the close of this study in Appendix B, and the date when the different missionary societies started work among the different tribes is shown in Appendix A.

spirit of love in which the missionary has come.

Helen Hunt Jackson has written concerning the relationship of the nation to the Indians:

My object has been simply to show our causes for national shame in the matter of our treatment of the Indians. It is a shame which the American nation ought not to lie under, for the American people, as a people, are not at heart unjust...The history of the missionary labors of the different Churches among the Indians, would make a volume. It is the one bright spot in the dark record.¹

Theodore Roosevelt once made a trip investigating the conditions on Indian reservations and writes concerning the influence of the mission work:

I spent twice the time I intended, because I became so interested, and I traveled all over the reservations to see what was being done especially by the missionaries, because it needed no time at all to see that the great factors in the uplifting of the Indian were the men who were teaching the Indian to become a Christian citizen.²

The Christian missionary to the Indians has therefore performed a great service for God, and his Kingdom; for our nation, in helping to right wrongs and in developing useful Christian citizens; and for the Indian, in Christian friendship in all relationships of life, but especially in pointing to him the "Way of Life". A superhuman task has been accomplished, therefore we must add that God has worked through the lives of these devoted men of God for the advancement of His children.³

1. I have consulted the following references for material in this chapter:

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States"
2. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
3. Lewis Meriam, "Facing the Future in Indian Missions"
4. Edgar B. Meritt, "The American Indian and Government Indian Administration"
5. Mary M. Crawford, "The Nez Perces Since Spalding"
6. Winifred Hulbert, "Indian Americans"
7. Periodical, "Indian Truth"
8. Periodical, "National Fellowship of Indian Workers"
9. Regulations for Religious Worship and Instruction of Pupils in Government Indian Schools, 1910, 1934, 35

CHAPTER II
THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO THE
INDIANS AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE RELIGIOUS
WORK

1
The Colonial Period

When the Pilgrim fathers entered our country, they were dependent upon the friendly Indians for their very lives. On the whole, the Indians helped them, giving them food, protection, and teaching them the secrets of the land which was theirs. The treatment of the Indians was a local matter. Sometimes the remark of Rufus Choate concerning the colonists was justified: "First landed on their knees and then on the Aborigines."¹

Usually the colonial governments were fair to the Indians and had the purpose to convert them to the Christian faith. This situation was very favorable to religious work. The missionary led the way in all the efforts to share the finer things of their civilization with their Indian brothers. The first schools among the Indians, the first medical work, the first training in industrial arts, the first efforts to put their languages into written forms, the first efforts to understand and appreciate the gifts of their culture, as well as the first efforts to share with them the Christian faith can all be attributed to the early missionaries.

1. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail,

p. 36

2. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States",

p. 32

The National Period

When the national government was formed, an attitude of justice toward the Indians prevailed. The following act of 1789 shows the attitude of this period:

The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians, their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress. But laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.¹

But as the number of colonists increased, they sought more and more of the land. The treaties which they made with the Indians were characterized by symbolic phraseology, such as: "As long as the grass grows and the rivers run" and "The great White Father at Washington".² If these treaties had been kept, all would have been well, but selfish interests caused the ambitious settlers to disregard them and the interests of the Indians. This caused the Indians to fight for their homesites in the land which was dear to them. Misunderstanding and hatred grew which resulted in unnecessary and cruel warfare on both sides. The white people had now become numerous and had the advantage of superior weapons, so it was inevitable that the Indian should be subdued and driven back into the wilderness. "'By alternate persuasion and force', wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1854, 'some

Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail", p.37

of these tribes have been removed, step by step, from mountain, to valley, from river to plain, until they have pushed half-way across the continent. They can go no further.'"¹ Altho the government treaties were usually very fair, the fact that the treatment of the Indian was influenced largely by public opinion and the fact that the government allowed unjust practices to continue, made the Indian distrust all white people. On the whole, the government's relationship to the Indian during this period made missionary work very difficult. Many Indians were on the war path, some non-christian Indians killed missionaries as well as other white people, and the general unsettled condition and constant migration of the tribes made constructive work almost impossible. This period is rightly called "A Century of Dishonor". Many stories of injustice could be told, but one of the outstanding and most pathetic is often called "The Trail of Tears". It is a tragic story of the enforced march of the greater part of the Cherokee tribe from their homes in North Carolina to the new territory provided for them in Oklahoma. Many of the Cherokees had settled on little farms and had established their homes, but when the white people wanted their land, President Jackson sent the troops to round them up and force them to move. All ages had to go, the old and feeble, as well as young

1. Lewis Meriam, "Facing the future in Indian Missions", p. 26

2. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail",

p. 41

babies. It is because many died on the three years hard journey over new rough territory, and because they naturally hated to leave their own country that the event is often referred to as the Trail of Tears. It is natural that those who went through an experience like that should wish to have nothing to do with white people or that which they had to offer.¹ However, in some instances the loyalty and understanding between missionary and Indians helped the situation, and the trials which the Indians were facing gave the missionary the opportunity to prove his friendship by helping them and by showing how Christ could help them in times of trouble.

In the Capitol in Washington there are four historical pictures which tell something of the story of the treatment of the Indians by the people of the United States. The first portrays the landing of the Pilgrims and the Indians offering corn to them. The second shows the signing of the treaty giving the land of Pennsylvania to the white man. The third pictures Pocahontas defending Captain John Smith. The fourth shows a battle between the whites and the Indians in which the Indians are being killed. An Indian who was visiting the Capitol stood thoughtfully viewing the pictures, and said: "Indian give white man corn. Indian give white man land. Indian save white man. White man kill Indian."² It is natural that the Indians should think of all white people

1. The Modern period deals with the Indian situation from the time that Grant was President of the United States until the present administration of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

2. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States", p.60

alike, and so when they get such a conception of white people it is difficult for any white person to gain their confidence enough to present Christ and His message to them.

The Modern Period¹

When General Grant became President of the United States, he recognized the inadequacy of the system of dealing with the Indians until that time, and consequently he started what is known as "Grant's Peace Policy " in 1869. General Thomas J. Morgan served as Indian Commissioner at this time. This expression was often heard: "It is better to educate than to fight; it is better to Christianize than to kill!"² It was Grant's policy to eliminate the political element in appointing people for positions because politics had been the cause of such corruption in the Indian service. The Indian department invited suggestions from all different denominations for suitable people for appointments as superintendents, teachers, or physicians. They thus received into the service people with the missionary spirit. This policy continued for ten or twelve years and was successful in many ways, altho it failed to accomplish all that had been hoped. The Christian churches may well be ashamed that they did not at this time cooperate with each other

1. G.E.E.Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States", p.61

2. Ibid, p. 54

and take advantage of this splendid opportunity to bring the Christian religion into the every day lives of the Indians. The pioneer missionaries had laid a splendid foundation for such a work. Denominations became somewhat jealous of each other which resulted in the Secretary of the Interior making a ruling in 1881 that all denominations were free to conduct missionary work on all Indian fields, "except where the presence of rival religious organizations would manifestly be perilous to peace and good order."¹

During this period important decisions were made by the Supreme Court concerning the rights of Congress to change treaties made with the Indians.

At this time agreements, entered into by the various tribes, took the place of treaties. The right of Congress to initiate these agreements, with the Indian's cession of land or anything else, was sustained by court action, the most notable case being the Iowa, Comanche and Apache case, which was brought all the way to the Supreme Court and which resulted in a decision, in 1903, establishing the right of Congress to abrogate the provisions of the Indian's treaty or to enter into such agreement with any Indian tribe as might seem proper. In the last analysis, however, the Government's dealings with the Indian during the modern period have not been determined by any policy of "checks and balances" as to legislative and executive departments, etc. but have been influenced by public opinion and in marked degree by humanitarian motives.²

It was a step of advance when the reservation policy superceded that of extermination and conquest. But further

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States",

p. 35

steps were necessary as the reservation system proved to have many faults also. The first of these was the founding of the Indian territory, now called Oklahoma. It seemed that the best way to escape trouble between the Indians and the whites was to separate them from each other; therefore, the Indians were removed to distant lands which the government felt at that time would probably not be desirable for the whites. As a matter of economy for the administration and for communication the Indians were concentrated on large reservations. "This concentration policy led to the Modoc War of 1872-3, and to trouble with the Sioux in 1876, with the Nez Perces in 1877, and the Chiricahua Apaches and other tribes in Arizona."¹

A natural but unfortunate consequence of the reservation system was the plan of giving rations. The normal and familiar method of obtaining food and shelter had been denied them by their removal to a distant place; therefore, in order to relieve suffering and to create a more peaceful attitude the government doled out food and clothes to all those on the reservations. This plan encourages laziness and the idleness which accompanies it creates vice, all of which is degrading to any people. The reservation allows the Indian to continue in his old ways without being disturbed much by white influence. It protects him

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States", p.35

2. There are many other phases of the citizenship question which do not especially influence the religious work, and with which therefore we will not deal in this study.

3. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States", p. 37

to some extent from the greed of the selfish white man.

The Peace Policy of President Grant prepared the way for the policy of "Assimilation". Many thoughtful friends of the Indian believed that it was not wise to attempt to keep the Indian segregated for he must gradually learn to take his place in the society of our nation. He should not be kept as a museum relic of the stone age. The first important step in that direction was the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887, by which the reservations were divided up and "land allotted in severalty to be held for a period of twenty-five years as non-taxable, following which a patent in fee was to be issued, and the surplus land sold and opened to white people for settlement."¹ The Burke Act in 1906 amended the Dawes Act in regard to the citizenship and voting rights of the Indians. It increased the time of probation until the patent fee was issued, or until the "Competency Commissions" passed on the qualifications for citizenship for different individuals.²

"The present Indian population of the United States is 340,838. There are fifty-eight distinct linguistic family groups divided into 280 separate tribes or bands. Thirty years ago the census reported 226,000 Indians in the Continental United States."³ This shows that the present efforts of the government and missionaries and other friends are helping the Indians to adjust themselves increasingly to the situations in the world today, and that

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States", p.37

2. Ibid, pg. 38

contrary to popular opinion the Indian population is increasing. This does not mean however that full bloods are increasing for it is only natural that the Indians should mix with other peoples and between tribes. "There are 161 separate reservations (including nineteen Spanish grants) of varying size, materially differing in soil and climate."¹ Besides this there are many villages of Indians scattered in towns and country throughout our United States. Also there is a large percent of them mixed bloods who have taken their places in society and are not distinguished as Indians by the casual observers.

Indian affairs were cared for under the Department of War, but in 1824 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was organized, and in 1849 when the Department of Interior was organized the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred to that Department. Under the Secretary of the Interior the Commissioner of Indian Affairs is in charge of the now immense work being done by the government for the Indians. Under his supervision there are about five thousand employees, many of whom are under Civil Service, and about one third of whom are of Indian blood.² The Indian service is now an extensive bureau with many different phases of work as it is responsible for the affairs of the Indian tribes, and the individual affairs of all the government wards of the United States. The appropriations for the

1. "Indian Truth", June 1938, Vol. 15, No. 6

year ending June 30, 1938, the amount from the public treasury was \$32,214,049.86, plus 1,664,590.00 from tribal funds, or a grand total of \$33,878,639.85.¹ This efficient department with its available funds now conducts work covering all phases of the Indian's life, except his Christian training. Many of these phases of work were first conducted by the missionaries, but now, altho we still believe that Christianity is concerned with the whole of life, the missionaries cannot compete with the better financed government work, and therefore they should confine themselves to definite training for Christian living and its adaptation to the material world in which we live.

The Present Period

The frequent change of policy and personnel in the Indian department makes it necessary to adapt the plans for religious work to meet the differing situations. The constant change is also very confusing to Indians. Sometimes the people on the reservations have just learned to understand a new policy and what was expected of them when to their amazement they are told that all has been changed, and a new policy is in effect. The present policy of the government, under the direction of John Collier, Commissioner

of Indian Affairs, in many ways is directly opposed to "Grant's Peace Policy " and the resulting policy of assimilation.

The Wheeler Howard Bill, which has been much discussed and modified in Congress still promotes the policy of segregation of Indians upon reservations, the tribal ownership of property, the revival of tribal customs, arts, crafts, and religions, and of loaning funds to students through a revolving fund. The students desiring advanced education, and who are from tribes which adopted the provisions of the Reorganization Act, a part of the plan of the Wheeler Howard Bill, may apply for student loans. This is a great opportunity, but some students prefer to work their way through school rather than carry the heavy burden of debt. Some Indians and their friends feel that these students loans should be available for all eligible students regardless of the vote of their tribe concerning the provisions of the Reorganization Act. The present policy of the Indian department concerning the segregation of tribes upon their reservations reverses the policy of assimilation which has been in effect for many years. The present Indian policy is similar to that of Canada, which is characterized by the paternal attitude, by segregation, by preserving him as an Indian, and by faithfulness to all treaties. Altho there is much that can be said on each

side of the question, the majority of the missionaries feel that the ultimate good of the Indian will be advanced by his adjustment into the society by which he is surrounded. Segregation slows up the process of assimilation. The Indian Reorganization Act provides for the organization of the tribe as a corporation with a constitution, and tribal council with executive ability and provides for tribal ownership of property and the power to borrow money from a government revolving fund. The money thus borrowed may be used for such things as improvements on property, farm machinery, cattle, or seeds. Naturally all policies that fundamentally change the condition of the Indian as these do influence the religious work conducted among them. The nature of Indian work often throws the missionary and government employee into contact with each other and into such relationships that the policy and work of each would influence the other. The new policy of encouraging the old Indian arts, crafts, customs, and religion has more effect upon the religious work than the changes mentioned above. Most people agree that the native culture should be preserved, and that this policy will help to encourage its promotion. But often the lower emotions as well as the higher are encouraged through the revival of ancient religions, culture, and dances. Ella Clara Deloria in "The Spirit of Missions" incidentally touches on the

1. Quoted in the National Fellowship of Indian Workers,
No. 5 (April, 1938), p. 6

survival values of old culture patterns when she says:

"Good judgment would be needed (for younger Indians) to decide what is of real and abiding spiritual value out of the old; and a discerning taste to know and reject what is evil and spurious in the new. But in order to know all that is available from which to make proper selections, the younger Indians must get out into the world like other human beings. They cannot do so by mail-order from their isolated, segregated communities where they are preoccupied with keeping alive a passing primitive culture, in the midst of modern progress, by a kind of artificial respiration".¹

A part of the report of the Atlantic City Conference of Indian workers by Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Executive Secretary of the Home Missions Council, is quoted to show the attitude of a group of missionaries on this issue:

"It is, therefore, natural that the missionary groups are profoundly concerned as to policies that effect the Indian people. Anything which directly, or by implication, constitutes a limitation on the work of the missionary, and in any way tends to nullify the constructive efforts of the past, as also having a far-reaching effect on the future, is a matter of deep concern to those whose task is to elevate and improve the conditions of Indian life.

The Conference gave attention to such matters as the Indian Reorganization Act; policies effecting education, religion, and cultures; the enforcement of liquor laws; Indian claims; internal problems of the Administration of Indian Affairs; the reindeer situation in Alaska; and matters effecting the personnel employed in Indian work.

The difficulty of administering any program that would be of equal, or even equitable, value to all Indians was recognized. Also, it was generally stated, many good things have come out of the present situation. The most critical aspect of the administration's policies seemed to be that effecting the culture and religion of Indians.

1. Quoted from "Indian Truth", Vol. 15, No. 6,
- June, 1938, p. 2,3.

The trend toward returning American Indians to special reservations and encouraging old tribal customs was a general agreement that such a policy is mistaken and that it will hinder the progress of the American Indians in Christian character, intellectual and spiritual development. That there is inherent value in the old cultures and in some of the primitive religious beliefs is undoubtedly true. But it was felt that the emphasis and recognition of these old cultures and beliefs has gone far beyond their real value, and particularly so in the case of those groups of partially assimilated Indians.

The Conference did not hesitate to assert that the Indian must be saved by a process of Christian assimilation to American life, and not by a carefully guarded and subsidize segregation. Anything which emphasizes differences and makes for separation and race discrimination militates against the very essence of the Christian religion. The ministry of the Church of Jesus Christ is concerned to serve the Indian because he is a human being and not because he is an Indian."¹

Collier recognizes the limitations of the system of Civil Service requirements for Indian service employees. He has tended to appoint more people for positions because of their general fitness for the work rather than because of Civil Service qualifications. Because of a statement to the effect that those who were not in sympathy with the new policies were not wanted in the Indian service, employees who wished to keep their jobs were afraid to express their honest opinions about policies of the government. Therefore,

it often appeared that more were in favor of the new plans than actually were.

The government is not now adequately enforcing the ruling which has been in effect for many years in regard to the restriction of the sale of liquor. The repeal of the 18th Amendment, and insufficient funds for enforcement officers have made it difficult to stop the growing tendency of intemperance. The new encouragement of ancient ways, and the right to make and execute their own laws, has tended to destroy the patient work of many years in developing the right attitudes toward Christian marriage. Indian marriage, or common law marriage is declared legal marriage. The teaching in many Indian groups that the native Indian ways are in most instances superior to anything that the white man can offer has created an attitude that makes it difficult for the white man to share that which he does have of value, the Christian faith. These influences, together with the example of many Indian service employees, have had a degrading influence on the Indian people. A part of a courageous statement made concerning the Indian work in the Annual Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Work of the Home Missions Council and the Council of Women for Home Missions is as follows:

2. National Fellowship of Indian Workers, No. 5, (April, 1938)

p. 516

There has been an appalling increase in the drink traffic. Reports from many reservations bring deep concern. We deplore the "hands off" policy. Reports tell of the resultant lawlessness and vice in these Indian communities. Not within the memory of the present generation have there been so many separations and illegal marriages, and in many places where the sanctity of marriage relationships has previously been proudly upheld, it has now broken down. All of which tends to increase the economic pressure and add to the plight of a belated people who have yet a long way to go.¹

The policy of the present administration is to keep the Indian children in their homes, wherever this is possible, and to try to help the people to raise their standard of living so that there is a wholesome condition in which the children may live while attending the government day schools. Many new day schools have been built on reservations, and in some places excellent community programs conducted. Much attention has been given to health conditions, improvements of homes, and improvement of economic conditions on the reservations. Specialists in agriculture have consulted with the Indians, and helped them to plan their water supply, their crops, their grazing, and to eradicate objectionable plants from the land. All this seems very ideal, and in many ways it is, but the attitude of many employees in their contacts with the Indian people have tended to destroy the natural native spiritual attitude toward life, and give instead the white materialistic attitude toward life. This result

is probably inevitable if those without a vital spiritual life are going to assist the Indian in becoming economically independent, but it is most unfortunate for it is destroying the Indian's finest nature and his best gift to society. The Indian must make adjustments to the surrounding society but it is the missionary's responsibility to help him to make them in such a way that he may conserve the best from the old life and accept the best from the new life in which he finds himself living. The change of policy in creating new reservation day schools, and also in sending more Indian children to public schools creates a new opportunity for missionary endeavor.

There has also been a definite change in the regulations concerning religious instruction in government schools for Indians. Naturally these regulations are interpreted differently by different employees in accordance with their interest in or respect for religion. The principle governing this change is religious liberty. The present administration feels that in accordance with our constitution, the Indian should have the right to worship in any way he wishes, be it Christian or native Indian religion. The missionaries would agree with this principle, but practically, it has resulted in an over emphasis on the part of the

government on old Indian religions, because they felt that in the past the Indians had been made to feel that they dare not worship in their old way. Altho there has been ample opportunity, few, if any of the "medicine men" have given regular instruction in the Indian religion in connection with the schools. This change has come so late that most of the tribes have already lost their ancient faith and accepted Christianity, but some are in the transition period, and have turned back to the Indian religion, and others have taken again the forms of their old ancestral faith, but have not regained the spirit which prompted it. This change in policy has created a problem for the missionary and has retarded the progress of missionary work. However, it has been gratifying to see the loyalty of many Indians to the Christian faith. An Indian girl whom I knew said, "We have gone too far in the Christian faith now, ever to wish to give it up". A comparison of the regulations concerning religious instruction in government Indian Schools in 1910, and those of the present will readily show the changes in government policy which have taken place. The two series of regulations with an amendment to the second are as follows:

General Regulations for Religious Worship and
Instruction of Pupils in Government Indian Schools

Issued by the Department of the Interior, Office
of Indian Affairs, March 12, 1910

1. Pupils shall be directed to attend the respective Churches to which they belong or for which their parents or guardians express a preference.

2. Should a question arise as to which Church pupils belong, they shall be classed as belonging to a certain denomination as follows:

(a) Those whose names are to be found on the baptismal record of said denomination, or who have been formally received as members of such denomination, or who belong to families under its instruction, except where the children are under 18 years of age and parents or lawful guardians make written request that the child be instructed in some other religion.

(b) Those who, regardless of previous affiliations, Christian or pagan, having attained the age of 18 years, desire to become members of any denomination.

(c) Those of any religion whatever, under 18 years of age (or over that age, unless they make voluntary protest), whose parents or lawful guardians, by written request, signify their desire that their children shall be reared in a certain denomination.

3. Ample provision shall be made for the conveyance of those who are too young or unable to walk in cases where the church services are held at a distance from the school. Hours of services are to be agreed upon between the attending pastor and the superintendent. Where these services cannot be held in or near the school on Sunday, the pupils must be sent to church on week days, provided arrangements can be made between the attending pastor and the superintendent so as not to conflict with regular school duties.

4. Pupils shall not change church-membership without the knowledge of the superintendent and consent of parents or guardians.

5. Pupils who belong to no Church are encouraged to affiliate with some denomination--preference being left to the pupil if he be 18 years of age or to the parent or guardian if the child be under 18 years of age.

6. Proselyting among pupils by pastors, employees, or pupils is strictly forbidden.

7. Method and promptness and a pervasive desire to cooperate with the discipline and aims of the school must characterize the work of those to whom the spiritual interests of the pupils are intrusted.

8. Two hours on week days are allowed each Church authority for religious instruction, the hours to be decided upon by superintendent and pastor.

9. Each Sunday all pupils belonging to a certain denomination shall attend the Sunday-school taught, either at the school or in a near-by church, when by mutual consent of the attending pastor and superintendent such a place has been selected.

10. Pupils will have every facility in attending Confession, preparatory classes, and Communion by handing their names to their religious instructors, and these in turn shall hand the names to the matron or disciplinarian--this as a precaution to account for the presence of the pupil.

11. Truancy, tardiness, or misconduct on the part of pupils attending church or Sunday-school, either away from or at the school, must be promptly reported to the superintendent.

12. For special services in church or at the school, special permission, granted at least a day in advance, must always be procured from the superintendent.

13. In the general school assembly exercises, as distinguished from the several Sunday-school exercises under separate denominational control, the following only must be observed for the strictly religious part:

(a) Substitute the Revised Version for the King James Version of the Bible, for Scriptural readings, and confine these to the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

(b) Either form of the Lord's prayer as given in the Revised Version.

(c) For song exercises use the "Carmina for Social Worship," omitting the following hymns: Nos. 106, 108, 110, 111, 119, 161, and 165.

(d) These assembly exercises are to be conducted by the superintendent of the school, or some employee

or pupil designated by him; but not a minister or priest unless the superintendent should be one, in which case he acts ex officio.

(e) The privilege of addressing the school at these exercises will be cordially offered to all ministers and priests; but doctrinal instructions or denominational teachings must not be permitted.

14. Regular and compulsory attendance is demanded on the part of all pupils at the regular assembly exercises conducted by the superintendent of the school.

15. Superintendents shall be required to carry out these regulations. They are required not only to cooperate loyally with this Office in holding the balances equally between all Churches, granting them equal privileges and excluding special privilege, but must not under any circumstances allow their personal prejudices or Church affiliations to bias them in any way.

R. G. Valentine,
Commissioner.

Regulations for Religious Worship and Instruction Amendment No. 2.

Paragraphs 129 to 144, both inclusive, of the Regulations for Indian Schools, approved January 30, 1928, are hereby rescinded and the following rules and directions substituted in lieu thereof.

In the long history of the Indians' relations with the white men, missionaries have furnished a contribution of good, possibly greater than that of all the Governments.

The missionary's work is usually carried out among a group of Indians, whether on a reservation or in a school, whose religious allegiances are not one but several. Complete homogeneity of religion is the exception among Indian groups. Hence, careful planning, with self-restraint and mutual forbearance, between the missionaries and the Government employees, and between all of the white elements and the Indians themselves, is necessary to the greatest usefulness

of the missionary endeavor.

The following precepts and regulations deal exclusively with the Indian schools. Inasmuch as the varied situations require practical judgment, and mutual tolerance and individual self-restraint, the items which follow are not set down as immutable requirements or limitations, but they are to be adhered to in spirit by all employees of the Indian Service and they are to be enforced in letter unless a modification be granted in a particular case after correspondence with the Office.

1. Indian schools are supported from funds raised by general taxation or from trust funds administered by the United States as guardian in behalf of the entire membership of the tribes, and attendance is compulsory.

Subject to the necessary qualifications indicated below (2) the controlling principles respecting sectarian or religious activity in the Indian schools are identical with the controlling principles respecting the identical matters in tax supported schools for others than Indians.

2. There is, however, a distinction of practical moment, due to the residential feature of the Indian boarding schools.

(a) Any denomination or missionary, including any representative of a native Indian religion may be granted as a privilege the use of rooms of other conveniences in the buildings of premises of boarding schools, on condition that there are pupils who, by parental choice or by personal choice of the pupil is 18 years of age or older, request the services of such missionary or denomination.

(b) When the parent or natural guardian of an Indian child, appearing in person before the superintendent or principal of the boarding school where such child is in residence, knowingly and voluntarily, in writing, registers a request for teaching or ministration for the child by a missionary of denomination, it shall be the duty of the superintendent of the reservation or the superintendent or principal of the school to make the request known to the missionary or the denomination. Parents shall be clearly informed by the Indian Service officials in question that they are under no requirement to register any request, and officials shall not attempt to influence the choice, if any, by parents or guardians, when such request is made by a parent or guardian, the missionary or denomination thus selected shall be invited and enabled to make contact with the child, at such times and places as do not conflict with the requirements

of classroom work, the group activities of the school, or the tasks assigned to the children.

(c) With respect to the children specified in (b) above, the officials of boarding schools shall cooperate with the missionaries by encouraging and facilitating attendance at the specified religious services. Compulsion, however, shall not be used upon any child.

(d) Sunday-school exercises may be conducted on Sunday mornings by the employees of the school, but compulsion shall not be used upon the employees to teach at Sunday-school, or upon the children to attend it.

(e) Proselytizing in the Indian boarding schools is prohibited.

(f) Nothing contained above shall be interpreted as a prohibition or advice against the fullest participation by missionaries, ministers, or outside members of denominations, in the secular activities of the school, as in case of Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and Camp Fire Girl activities, adult-education activities, lectures, entertainments, etc.

3. Any child at an Indian Service day school upon written request of his or her parents, knowingly and voluntarily given, shall be excused for religious instruction, including instruction in the native Indian religion, if any, for not more than one hour each week. Religious exercises are not to be held in the premises of day school during regular school hours, but facilities at the school may be provided for the use of religious instructors, at times and under conditions not in conflict with the uses of the buildings by the Indian Service or the community. Paragraph 2(f) above shall apply to day schools as well as to boarding schools.

4. These regulations shall supersede all prior regulations and or instructions dealing with religious teaching in Indian Service schools.

John Collier
Commissioner

Approved: January 15, 1934.
Harold L. Ickes,
Secretary of the Interior.

Regulations for Religious Worship and Instruction
Amendment No. 3

Section 2 (b) of the Regulations for Religious Worship and Instruction, Amendment No. 2, was modified by the Secretary of the Interior, under date of February 7, 1935, by insertion of certain language.

Please attach a copy of this modification to each copy of the religious regulation in your possession.

The section, as modified, reads as follows:

(b) When the parent or natural guardian of an Indian child, appearing in person before the superintendent of the agency where such parent or guardian resides, or before the superintendent or principal of the boarding school where such child is in residence, or before any responsible school or agency official duly authorized by the superintendent or principal to act for him in this matter, knowingly and voluntarily, in writing, registers a request for teaching or ministration for the child by a missionary or a denomination, it shall be the duty of the superintendent of the reservation or the superintendent or principal of the school to make the request known to the missionary or the denomination. Parents shall be clearly informed by the Indian Service officials in question that they are under no requirement to register any request, and officials shall not attempt to influence the choice, if any, by parents or guardians. When such request is made by a parent or guardian, the missionary or denomination thus selected shall be invited and enabled to make contact with the child, at such times and places as do not conflict with the requirements of classroom work, the group activities of the school, or the tasks assigned to the children.

Approved 2/7/35
Harold L. Ickes
Secretary of the Interior

1. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
p. 42

The relationships of the government and the missionaries to the Indians throughout the history of our country was stated by Hon. T.J. Morgan, ex-Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and may be summarized as follows:

They were our forerunners, who preceded us and had the oldest claim upon the American continent; our hosts, who welcomed our pilgrim forefathers when they landed at Plymouth Rock; our landlords, from whom we rented and acquired land; our rival nation, with whom we made treaties and traded; at times our savage foes, burning our homes and cruelly tomahawking alike defenseless women and little children; afterwards our friendly allies, who helped us to fight our battles against our enemies; gradually overcome by the white people they became conquered subjects; now the wards of the nation, receiving constant help from the government; as lands are being allotted them in the Indian territory, they are becoming our fellow citizens; many of them are still savages and heathen, who must be evangelized and led to Jesus; and numbers are now converted and are our fellow Christians and brethren in Christ, assisting in the great work of giving the gospel to others. ¹

The policies of the government concerning Indian affairs have changed from time to time, and though these variations have affected the missionary work to some extent, the general trend continues toward Christian assimilation into society.

1. In this chapter material is used from the results of the questionnaire which was sent to all religious education directors in the non-reservation boarding schools for Indians and other religious workers on similar fields. Also material from annual and conference reports of Indian workers, findings of investigations made by G.E.E. Lindquist, and other material from periodicals, reports, and letters has been consulted. I have also consulted the following books for material in this chapter.

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States"
2. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
3. Lewis Meriam, "Facing the Future in Indian Missions"
4. Winifred Hulbert, "Indian Americans"

CHAPTER III

SURVEY OF RELIGIOUS WORK NOW BEING DONE IN
NON-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS¹

Missionaries in the non-reservation boarding schools for Indians have long felt the need of mutual help in their great task. The fourteen non-reservation boarding schools are scattered throughout the United States, and are often in isolated districts. They are differentiated from the reservation boarding schools in that they are located at a distance from a reservation, and accept children from several near by states. It has been impossible for the religious education directors of these schools to meet together to discuss their common problems which are peculiar to their type of religious work. The advantages of a study of the religious work done in the schools as a whole is apparent. Efforts in this direction were started in 1918, when the first questionnaire was sent to the Indian schools by Miss Edith Dabb, Secretary of the Indian Department of the Young Women's Christian Association, and Rev. G.E.E. Lindquist, representing the Young Men's Christian Association. The response was not very adequate because the idea was new to the missionaries. This effort led to an Inter Church Survey of Indian

fields in 1919 to 1922. It was conducted through visits to all the Indian mission fields and through twelve conferences of Indian workers held in 1921 to 1922. These conferences were held in New York City, Albany, and Wallace Lodge, New York; at El Reno and Muskogee, Oklahoma; Phoenix, Arizona; Sherman Institute, Riverside, California; Sacramento, California; Chemawa, Oregon; Seattle, Washington; Billings, Montana; and Sioux Falls, South Dakota. The results of this extensive survey are incorporated in Lindquist's book, "The Red Man in the United States".

This study concerning the religious education work in the non-reservation boarding schools for Indians is based upon the results of the above survey, the reports of conferences of Indian workers, and the results of a questionnaire which has been sent to all directors of religious education in the non-reservation boarding schools, and to a few other missionaries in similar work. Because many wished their answers regarded as confidential, only the summary of results will be given, and on the charts, numbers will be used in place of the names of the schools. The questionnaire is concerned with the Protestant work in the schools, the time allowed for religious instruction, the attendance of the students at the Mission meetings, the religious education courses of study,

1. The Questionnaire will be found at the close, in
Appendix C.
2. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States"
p. 39
3. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Red Man in the United States"
p. 40

the cooperation of government officials with the religious work, the religious background of the students, and the evaluation of the results of the religious education program.¹

Schools for Indians -- History of Indian Schools

A few people were interested in the education of the Indians when the first schools were started in this country. Harvard's charter in 1650 indicates an interest in "the education of English and Indian youth...in knowledge and godlynes".² The second building at Harvard was built in 1654, and was called "the Indian college". It was in this building that the printing press used by John Eliot was kept, which printed his first Indian Bible, Indian primers and other texts. The first Indian to receive his bachelors degree at Harvard was Caleb Cheeshaumuch, who was graduated in 1665.

Dartmouth's royal charter granted in 1769, provided "that there would be a college erected in our said Province of New Hampshire, by the name of Dartmouth College, for the education and instruction of Youth of the Indian Tribes of this land, in reading, writing and all parts of Learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and Christianizing children of pagans, as well as in all liberal Arts and Sciences, and also of English Youth and any other."³

There were a few other schools in the early history of our country that admitted Indian students.

The first school founded exclusively for Indians was established in 1651, in Massachusetts, by Thomas Mayhew, Jr.. Other schools were conducted by different missions, altho many of them received aid from the federal government to help in the education of its "wards". Many Indian treaties contained clauses which provided funds for the education of the youth of that tribe. Until 1879 all the schools for Indians were conducted by different missions.

In 1877 the government made an appropriation of \$20,000 to start an educational system for the Indians. This system was based on the theory that the Indian children should be taken from their natural environment and be placed in schools where they would be surrounded with the white civilization in order to create a desire for a higher standard of living. In 1878 a band of Kiowa and Comanche prisoners of war were released from St Augustine, Florida, and brought by Lieut. R.H. Pratt to Hampton Institute. Combining Indian young men and women with the negro youth of Hampton Institute for industrial education was an experiment. The splendid records of the Indian graduates of this institution encouraged the government to allow annual appropriations for the continuance of the Indian work in this school until 1912. Since government support has been withdrawn, several Indians have continued to attend it because

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Red Man in the United States"
P. 40

2. Ibid.

of the high standards of the school. In 1879, General Pratt was instrumental in founding Carlisle Indian school, not far from Harrisburg, Pa. As this was the first distinctly Government Indian school, General Pratt may well be called, "the father of the Government Indian school system".¹ "His slogan was 'Get the Indian away from the reservation into civilization, and when you get him there, keep him!'"² This school was closed in 1918 and the buildings returned to the War department. During its history the name of Carlisle Indian School was especially noted for its athletes, often it was called Carlisle College because its football team competed with Universities altho the members of the team were below the High School grades. Carlisle deserves its noted name because of the splendid records of many of its graduates, seventy of whom are employed by the United States government.

Different types of schools for Indians

Carlisle was classed as a non-reservation boarding school, because its students came from many different reservations and states, and because they came at government expence to live at the school for a period of three to five years. In 1913 there were thirty-

1. Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
Vol. 17, No 24 (June 1938)

five non-reservation government boarding schools for Indians,,in 1922, there were twenty, and now there are fourteen which are so classed. In 1913, there were seventy-six, and in 1922, fifty-two reservation boarding schools, which are schools at which the children live who are from the reservation on which the school is located. The tendency has been to close the boarding schools and place the children in the Indian day schools or public schools, as the home conditions make it increasingly wise for the children to remain in their own homes. In 1913, there were two hundred and seventeen, and in 1922 there were one hundred and sixty-six Indian day schools, located on the reservations. These were usually small schools of from twenty-five to forty pupils from the first to fifth grades. Lunch was served to them at noon. Recently many more day schools have been built, most of which have proved successful, except those among the Navajos. "Generally speaking, the Navajos have failed to respond to the day school program. One plant cost \$100,000 had eight class rooms, complete with clinic, dining room, kitchens, rooms for community purposes, garages, as well as quarters for boys, and a 30,000 gallon tank for water, and there were only eleven children¹ enrolled." The necessity to graze their sheep has encouraged the nomadic tendency of the Navajos, and makes it very difficult for the children to attend

school regularly. The children are needed to watch the sheep, and even if they are not working, the family may need to move with their sheep to a distant pasture, which also would hinder the attendance of the children at school. More and more Indian children are being placed in the regular public schools, sometimes the government pays tuition for each Indian child, because the parents do not pay taxes, but often they enter on the same basis as other children. The main reasons for Indian children not attending the public schools of their community have been that the Indian children had not reached a stage where they could compete normally with the white child because of a different background and a language handicap, and because the white parents object to their presence for hygienic or social reasons. In 1913, there were sixteen mission boarding schools under government contract, and fifty-three which were not under contract. Since then many of these have closed because of lack of funds and because the pupils can now be placed in public schools. Contract schools are those to which the government pays tuition for each pupil. The only contract schools now are Roman Catholic, the tuition of which is paid from tribal funds.

Until 1870 all the Government aid for education passed through the hands of the missionaries. The first contract school was established in 1869. At first only day-schools were conducted; then followed reservation boarding-schools, and later boarding schools at a distance from the

1. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail" p. 218, 219

Indian country. These contract schools were abandoned June 30, 1900. Religious societies, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, now take care of their own schools, and pay their employees from the mission funds of their several denominations.¹

Location of the Non-Reservation Boarding Schools

In this study we are especially interested in the non-reservation boarding schools. These are located in different sections of United States. The territory is now divided so that each school enrolls children from a definite territory which does not overlap with the next school. The schools are located as follows: Carson Indian School at Stewart, Nevada; Chilocco School at Chilocco, Oklahoma; Flandreau School at Flandreau, South Dakota; Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas; Phoenix School at Phoenix, Arizona; Salem School at Chenawa, Oregon; Sherman Institute at Riverside, California; Albuquerque at Albuquerque, New Mexico; Santa Fe at Santa Fe, New Mexico; Fort Wingate at Fort Wingate, Arizona; Pierre School at Pierre, South Dakota; Sequoyah Training School at Tahlequah, Oklahoma; Wahpeton School at Wahpeton, North Dakota.

These non-reservation boarding schools will admit children from their prescribed area who are of one

1. Carson School, Admission, General Statement of
Policy Relating to Indian Secondary Schools
p.2

fourth or more Indian blood for whom satisfactory school facilities are not available in their home communities. If the school has the complete elementary courses, the ages range from six to twenty-one. A part of the government regulations from the Indian commissioners office reads as follows:

Applicants will not be admitted who can be furnished with suitable education near their homes. Preference will be given to orphans, to children from broken homes, and to children from unfit homes if they reside in districts where there are no social agencies equipped to make the necessary adjustments for such children in their own home communities. Poverty in the home will not be considered sufficient reason for admission unless evidence is submitted to show that there are no resources from which the distressed home could obtain relief. Preference will be given to students best qualified to profit by the instruction offered. Children who have been adjudged by competent authority to be feebleminded or delinquent will not be accepted.¹

Characteristics of the Non-Reservation Boarding Schools

The schools are principally trade schools, giving training to the boys which will help them to make their living on or off of the reservation. During Junior High School a general knowledge of the different trades is given, and during Senior High School more definite training will be given in a chosen industry. Those trades most commonly

1. Carson School, General Statement of Policy Relating
to Indian Secondary Schools, p.3

2. Indian Secondary Schools, General Statement of
Policy relating to Indian Secondary Schools, p.1

included in the schools curriculum for boys are agriculture, auto mechanics, carpentry, painting, and plumbing; and for the girls, home economics and nursing. With all the training a definite application is planned for reservation life. "In so far as possible all training will be supplemented by Indian community and reservation projects, with emphasis on agriculture, mechanical and home making skills."¹ It has been customary for the children to spend half of their time in the usual academic classes and the other half in industrial training or institutional work. A very popular part of the training has always been the physical education. In the larger schools interscholastic athletics is conducted, which gives the Indian youth a contact with the other High School boys in a field in which they are at home. The government, besides furnishing food and clothes and scholastic and industrial training, conducts clubs and activities for the enlargement of personality, and furnishes ample wholesome recreation. The object of Indian Secondary Schools is officially stated as follows:

The object of Indian secondary schools is to offer training in occupations requiring specific skills which will be of use to Indian boys and girls in making a living, especially on their own reservations or in Indian villages or communities; to provide them with information and activities which will equip them for home-making and for civic and social life; and to help them to appreciate and perpetuate those elements of Indian culture which hold real values for the present and future generations.²

Religious Education in the Non-Reservation Boarding
Schools for Indians --Organizations conducting Religious
Work in the Non-Reservation Boarding Schools

The religious work in the non-reservation boarding school is either conducted undenominationally, in six of these cases it is conducted by the Home Missions Council, or denominations, having children in the school, cooperate in giving religious instruction. In some cases one church is responsible and has a resident worker, and other denominations cooperate. In eight of the schools reporting in the questionnaire, the Catholic church gives instruction to their children. In six schools the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches give instruction to their children, the Methodist gives instruction in three, the Lutheran, Christian Reform, and Friends in two schools, and the Christian Church in one. In most places the cooperation is excellent between denominations.

The Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association have been very active in Christian work in the schools and also in following up with the Christian influence in the cities where the young people go to work. The Young Women's Christian Association have a department for Indians, which for many years was under the leadership of Miss Edith M. Dabb and Miss Bertha Eckert. Last year Miss Dabb was retired, but she is

still active in Mission work among Indians, having now been appointed a member of the executive committee of the Congregational Mission Board, and a member of the Executive Board of the National Indian Association.

Cooperation of Local Pastors and Volunteer Workers

Several schools depend upon the local pastors of the different denominations to visit and conduct meetings and instruction classes at the school, while a few schools provide transportation so that the students may attend the church of their choice. It is difficult for a local pastor to spend the time that is necessary at the school to conduct a satisfactory educational program. The pastors do not have an opportunity to know the pupils in their other activities. A few schools have been fortunate enough to have consecrated volunteer teachers come from the different churches to the school to teach Sunday School classes. In the majority of the schools the government employees conduct the Sunday School under the direction of the missionary if there is one stationed at the school. Formerly it was required that a Sunday School be conducted in each boarding school.

Cooperation of Government with Religious Work

One can usually find a definite relationship between the attitude of the employees of the school and that of the children. Indian children are very quick to sense the things that the employees feel are important and to follow their leadership. Again there is a distinct relationship between the interest shown by the employees in religion and the spirit of the community toward the church. Probably a higher average of government employees attend and show some interest in church than would be the average of the whole nation. In general the results of the questionnaire used in this study show that from twenty-five to fifty percent of the employees attend church.

We will study the cooperation of the government employees with the religious work for the children in seven different respects. The results of the questionnaire are summed up concerning cooperation in schedule, building, announcements, transportation, religious activity, teaching morals, and teaching religious classes. (1) In regard to making a place in the schedule for religious instruction, four respondents report excellent, and one, very good, while four report good cooperation, and one, fair. (2) Cooperation in the use of the government buildings for religious instruction seems very good, because from ten responses,

four report excellent; two, very good; and four, good.

(3) The matter of making announcements is a little harder, for from eleven reports, three report excellent; five, very good; one, good; and two, fair.

(4) Only nine reported concerning transportation, three report excellent cooperation; one, very good; two, good; one, fair; one, poor; and one, none needed.

(5) From ten that responded concerning cooperation in the religious activities, six, reported fair, while only three reported very good, and one, excellent.

(6) The responses to the question concerning teaching morals was about evenly distributed; two, excellent; three, very good; one, good; two, fair; one, poor; and one gave a question mark. (7) The report shows the least cooperation in teaching religious classes, as is natural: one, very good; three, good; three, fair; three, none; and one, poor. This would indicate a tendency toward an impersonal rather than a personal cooperation in religion.

Time for Religious Instruction

All the non-reservation boarding schools have been very fair in granting time according to the regulations for religious instruction. In three cases, at least two hours a week of school time is given for religious instruction. In two instances

credit is now being given for religious courses given in school time, one school designating the work as an elective course. In two other instances, credit has been given, but is now discontinued, one of these being in the last year. There were no instances noted where insufficient time was granted for religious instruction, but there were five reports that the school calendar was so full that it discouraged Christian work. There is such a difference in arrangement of time for religious instruction that it is impossible fully to summarize the report. In general, there seems to be two plans, one in which time is allowed for everyone to attend church on Sunday, and for religious instruction on one evening a week, usually Thursday evening; and the other in which time is given on Sunday and in addition a schedule for week day instruction at various times is fitted into the school schedule so that the directors may meet the children in small groups. The greatest handicap to sufficient religious education in these schools seems to be the lack of religious directors, rather than the lack of time allowed by the government for instruction. The results of the study in 1919 are interesting for comparison.

As to time: Question sent out to the Missionaries: "Do you have sufficient time for the adequate instruction you wish to give the pupils in Government Schools?" Surprising as it may seem several voted in the affirmative on that question; five said that the time allowed

according to the government ruling was not used. However, 25 report that they had insufficient time in which to give the instruction needed. By this they meant, either, that the two hours a week, aside from Sunday, proved insufficient, or, that they were so crowded with other duties that their own time was too limited in which to give this instruction. I may add here that there were some who said they must give the instruction under very unfavorable conditions, e.g. Saturday evening, or right after supper, just before study-hour, with the bells ringing continually and other interruptions.¹

Plan of Religious Work in the Non-Reservation Boarding Schools for Indians--Indirect Religious Influence

As already indicated the circumstances and plan for religious instruction in the different schools vary greatly. However some general conditions may be indicated. It has been said that "Religion is caught, and not taught". We might change this and say, "Religion is caught, as well as taught". Religious education to be successful should permeate the entire life of the school. If the missionary shows an interest in the social life and athletics of the school, it creates an understanding and sympathy with the children. Usually the school is glad if the missionary provides some wholesome social life in connection with the religious program, and this gives an excellent opportunity for mutual acquaintance, and for creating Christian attitudes in life situations.

1

If an informal social time, visit, or "sing" can accompany the class session, it creates a more normal atmosphere for a project or discussion, and helps to balance a formal service of instruction. This is more easily done where there is an informal classroom, or where there is a social room near the worship room which the group will enter later for the formal meeting.

There is an opportunity for indirect Christian influence in the dormitory. There should be as close cooperation between the missionary and matron as between the church and home, so that lessons being taught in the religious classes can be stressed also in the dormitory. One missionary takes time once or twice a week to go to the dormitory to play and sing with the children and have prayer with them as they go to bed, and sometimes to tell them a bed time story. A place which offers similar opportunities for contacts is the hospital. Reading material can be shared, or pictures for the smaller children, a chat, a cheerful word, and perhaps a prayer if the occasion allows it, all of these are contacts which may have a far reaching influence on the lives of these children.

Friendships which may be developed between missionaries and children are among the most helpful influences in the childrens' lives. If possible the

social hall of the church or the home of the missionary should be a favorite place for recreation. Even the casual friendly contact of a greeting on the campus may assist a child to overcome a despondent mood. If the child has had friendly contacts, when a problem or sorrow comes into his life he will more readily come to the missionary for guidance. It should be emphasized strongly that the friendly contacts are tremendously important if religion is going to be an integral part of the lives of the children, and these contacts are also tremendously important to the religious director if he is going to understand the children and to be able to help them to make their religion a vital experience.

Large Group Meetings

Important as is the influence of the indirect Christian contacts, this work cannot take the place of the regular preaching or worship service. And important as is the school assembly period, especially where the children have an opportunity to take part, nothing can fill a certain need as fully as the regular church service. As commonly as this is recognized, it is surprizing that in 1919 the following facts were discovered in a survey and given in a report:

Only eight of the twenty schools have regular preaching services by local pastors either on Sunday or during the week. In a few

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Sub-Committee on Survey, Joint Central Indian Committee, Report on Government Non-Reservation Boarding Schools, (April 15, 1919) p. 4,5

isolated instances pupils receive pastoral visits from the representatives of the churches of their choice. In very few schools is there any regular attendance of pupils at town churches or Sunday School. Where they are invited to attend, places are assigned to them in some corner so as not to disturb the regular worshippers. Causes that hinder or discourage church attendance are not far to seek. Owing to the distance of school from town it is almost impossible for the pupils to get back in time for their Sunday dinners, the hour being set to accommodate the Roman Catholics and dining room matrons. In some instances the Protestants must do the detail work in kitchen and barn while the Roman Catholics attend mass.¹

Judging from the results of the questionnaire this year, nine schools have regular Sunday morning worship services conducted at the schools and at one the children are taken to the church of their choice in a nearby town. The ministers occasionally are asked to give comfort in time of sorrow by conducting funeral services. The Indian children are especially sensitive at that time, and real sympathy and understanding on the part of the missionary is appreciated.

Small Group Meetings

Experience proves that "religion can be taught as well as caught". Small groups are nearer to life situations and religion can therefore be "taught" more easily under these conditions. Indian children in non-reservation boarding schools are in many respects in an unnatural situation. They have been taken from their home life, and are living in crowded dormitories

under semi-military discipline, and with a different standard of living. They have been taken from their primitive civilization and thrust into our modern world. Is it any wonder that they are shy and reserved at first? In order to make them feel at ease a small group of friends should meet and form a small club in which they can express themselves through activities in which they are interested. In large groups they are afraid to do things for fear of appearing awkward and of being laughed at, while in small groups they react naturally to each other, and soon to the leader, which makes it easier to find out at what level they are thinking, to learn their interests and so to help them to grow. In a small group the missionary can control the activities, in a normal way, much like a family, and so develop new attitudes, and form right motivations for life.

The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association were leaders in organizing clubs and activity programs in the Indian schools. Now, Hi-Y clubs, and Girl Reserves, and similar clubs are quite popular. They should be and sometimes are organized according to natural friendship groups which are strong enough to form their own standards regardless of the opinion of the rest of the school. There is ample opportunity in these clubs for self expression and activity. In many of

1. Released time is a term referring to the practice of releasing pupils during school time from the public schools for religious instruction. Here I am using the term in connection with time allowed from school time for religious instruction in the federal government schools for Indians.

the schools these clubs are sponsored by some employees, and also, in many by the missionaries.

In all but one school it is reported that they have some form of religious education during the week. Three of them have released time, and¹ others have time outside of school hours. One important phase of small group meetings is the week-day religious education classes. Two schools give some credit for the week day religious education courses. Judging from the reports, the majority of the classes have rather formal instruction, several having one evening when pastors from different denominations meet their entire group. All but one report suggests a Sunday School being held for the children. It is a problem to obtain teachers who are qualified and willing to help. Some schools are fortunate in being near a training school or a church from which teachers may be procured. In a few schools Teacher Training or Leadership Training classes are conducted, from which teachers for the younger grades are secured. This experience is good for the leaders and their example is helpful for the younger children. In some schools the choir is trained by the religious director. Most Indian children love to sing, and the choir gives them an opportunity to be of service which brings joy to them and to others also. Every opportunity for service and self expression develops

1. G.M.E. Lindquist, Sub-Committee on Survey, Joint Central Indian Committee, "Report on Government Non-Reservation Boarding Schools (April 15, 1919) p.5

in the individual more ability to become a leader in the church on the reservation or in the village. A comparison with the results of the investigation made in 1919, shows that considerable progress has been made in the plans for religious work for the Indian schools.

Some kind of Sunday School work is carried on in all but two institutions. In many instances the employees are designated by the Superintendent to teach classes. Group classes are practically unknown. Classes are divided according to grades and the International lessons used for all. Although the Government rules and regulations for Indian Schools allow two hours on week days (that is, aside from Sunday) only seven have any instruction classes during the week, and three of these are where religious work directors are in charge. Christian Associations--Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. are organized in seventeen of these institutions. In all but four Christian teachers and employees are acting as advisory officers; two engage general secretaries, viz, Haskell and Chilocco, and two Associations are supervised by the directors of religious education, viz., Sherman Institute and Chemawa. With only one school definitely committed to a united Religious Education program under a trained Religious Work Director, and two marking progress toward that end, there is urgent need for a united Protestant approach to these schools, and the appointment of Religious Work Directors for an increasingly larger number of institutions.

Curriculum

It has just been noted that the Sunday Schools in the non-reservation boarding schools in 1919 were using the International lessons. Only one school now

1. Director is here used to refer to the religious education directors who have arranged original courses to meet the needs of their groups.

is using the International lessons for all the classes, and two others are using the material for the older groups. Courses that are reported as being used with good results are:

Junior Hi Girls

1. Neuburg, "Right Living" Series I,II
2. Director "Bible Characters"
3. Director "Missionary Course", W.W.G. group.
4. Keystone Graded Series, "How We Got Our Bible"
5. Presbyterian Graded Course
6. Gospel Light Press (Graded)
7. David C. Cook, Union S. S. Literature

Junior Hi Boys

1. Neuburg, "Right Living" Series I,II
2. Director "Bible Characters"
3. Director "Bible course" with "Friendly Indian" group
4. Presbyterian Graded Course
5. Hi-Y Club
6. David C. Cook, Union S.S. Literature

Senior Hi Girls

1. Weston, "Discovering Jesus"
2. Wood, "Foundations of Happiness in Marriage"
3. Sailer, "What Does Christ expect of Young People Today"
4. Director, "Understanding God" including
 - Understanding God
 - Understanding God's Word
 - Understanding God's World
 - Understanding Ourselves
 - Understanding Others
 - Understanding Jesus Program
5. International S.S. Literature
6. David C. Cook, Union S.S. Literature
7. Director, "Christian Life Series"
 - (Courses Given in School Time)
8. Gospel Light Series (Graded)
9. Director, "Background of Books of New Testament"

Senior Hi Boys

1. Weston, "Discovering Jesus"
2. Wood, "Foundations of Happiness in Marriage"
3. Sailer, "What Does Christ expect of Young People Today"
4. Elective S.S. Course, "Understanding Ourselves"
5. Director, "Understanding God"
6. International Sunday School lessons
7. Hi-Y Club
8. David C. Cook, Union Sunday School Literature
9. Christian Endeavor World
(Course given for School Credit)
10. Grant, "Life and Teachings of Jesus", other supplementary material

Leadership Training Courses

1. Carrier, "How Shall I Learn to Teach Religion"
2. Rogers, "History and Literature of Hebrew People"
3. Director, Preliminary Preparation of S.S. Lesson

Denominational Instruction Groups

Episcopal--Ways and Teachings of the Church
 Presbyterian--A Bible Study Course
 Methodist--A Bible Study Course
 Luthern--Catechism
 Catholic--Lectures on Church Discipline
 Leaders of various denominations work out their own courses.

A large amount of material has been written which may be adapted and used for course material, a book by G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Jesus Road and the Red Man", and many shorter courses by the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. are written especially for Indian groups. Many lists of books or courses which have been used in the religious work in the Indian schools are available. The important thing is to have trained Directors of Religious Education who can study the

children, and arrange the courses to develop each child from the situation in which we find him to the best Christian personality it is possible for him to become. Immediately we are faced with many problems, first of which is the problem of knowing "where the child is", as these children come from several states, from many widely different tribes, scattered communities, and different types of families. An understanding of Indian tribal customs and culture is needed as a basis, and then through cooperation with the social worker of the school, and the religious worker of the community from which the child comes, and most of all by an acquaintance with the child and his interests, a partial knowledge of the situation may be gained. After seeking to understand the children of a class, one should seek to discover their interests, which may often be done through discussion or through written questions. Then if the director has good Course of Study material as a foundation, and good source material from which to draw, a course which will be interesting and which will meet the needs of the children could be built. All that is possible should be done by various Missionary Societies to provide the missionaries with the best available material, but a definite standard course for all religious education directors in Indian schools would not be wise. It has been the experience of several missionaries that

the Indian youth is making such a fast adjustment to a new changing civilization, that a course would need to be changed and adapted each year, and that a course which was quite sufficient ten years ago, would be entirely inadequate now.

Problems of Language and Race

To have an entirely adequate course of study to present to Indian youth is not the only problem. It must be presented to him in language which he can understand. Racial background must be taken into consideration. Words that have one meaning to the teacher, may convey an entirely different idea to the Indian mind. Often the very earnest efforts of the missionary do not produce the expected results because his teaching does not fit the life situation of the pupil. Often again, there is the language handicap, which hinders the pupil from understanding the associations meant to be conveyed by the word. A personal illustration will help to make this clear. When I first went to the Indian field, I was attempting to explain how to sing a certain hymn. During the explanation, I said, "This is martial music", and afterwards a fine Indian girl who was a school teacher said, "Those children did not understand what you

meant when you said that was martial music, Say it is march music, like this, one, two, three, four, and show them." Seldom do teachers realize how simple their language needs to be, and how careful they need to be to use words that are in the vocabulary of the pupils. Even with students who seem to be quite at home in the English language, great care must be exercised that they understand the religious terms.

On a nearby reservation a visiting pastor spoke to the Indian congregation, and after the service, an elderly Indian woman, Maggie Whitefeather, came to the missionary and said aside, "That man, talk lots, say anything?" A fine Christian college boy said of some old people of his tribe who were adopting the Peyote faith conducted in their tribal language, that he believed the Peyote religion, poor as it was, did more for the older people than what they could understand of the Christian faith. The songs, prayer, and the ritual of the Peyote service was conducted by a member of the tribe. For himself, this young man had definitely chosen the Christian faith, but he knew that two years after the Peyote faith had been introduced into the state some of these older people had been influenced more by it than during the twenty years the Christian faith had been preached. This is a tragic situation. One of the places where the Christian faith has made the greatest impression on

the life of the whole community is the Dakota country where the Bible and hymn book have been translated into the native language, and where services have been held in the Indian tongue since the time of the pioneer missionary. Pioneer work was all done in the native language or through an interpreter, in the language of the people. How can we make religion vital to these people? By bringing the message of the Christ to them in the life situations in which they live, in a way in which they can understand it. Missionaries need to contact their thinking through a medium they understand and as their experience grows, their Christian vocabulary may be enlarged.

Results of the Religious Education Program

Under the regulations previous to the present administration, attendance at religious meetings was strongly encouraged, which resulted in nearly one hundred per cent attendance. Under the present regulations much is left to the interpretation of the employees as to the facilitating of attendance at religious meetings. No pupil, even at the request of the parent, can be compelled to attend religious meetings, and since attendance is entirely voluntary the number at mission classes varies. When the new rules were made effective, the reaction in some schools

1. The schools to which the numbers refer are listed:

1. Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas
2. Wahpeton School, Wahpeton, North Dakota
3. Wingate, Fort Wingate, Arizona
4. Pipestone School, Pipestone, Minn.
5. Phoenix School, Phoenix, Arizona
6. Salem School, Chemawa, Oregon
7. Flandreau School, Flandreau, South Dakota
8. Sequoyah Training School, Tahlequah, Oklahoma
9. Sherman Institute, Riverside, California
10. Carson Indian School, Stewart, Nevada
11. Chilocco School, Chilocco, Oklahoma

was unfavorable, but now the attendance has become more stable, as is shown by the following chart.

The schools are numbered instead of being named because in some instances the information is considered confidential.¹

School	School Enrollment	Protestant Pupils	Protestant Attendance	Percentage Protestant Attendance
1.	752	500	520	100%
2.	325	125	125	100%
3.	500	263	263	100%
4.	326	200	326	100%
5.	435	295	235	79%
6.	469	235	225	95%
7.	450	175	87	50%
8.	387	385	385	100%
9.	650	408	302	74%
10.	549	490	336	70%
11.	735	685	490	71%

Results of a religious education program are not easily tabulated. Improved attitudes and motivations can not be graded. "There is no impression without expression" has often been said. Granting this, one may judge the reality of the experience to some extent by the expression the young people give to their religious life. Participation in meetings and activities has increased greatly, and the sense of initiative and

responsibility has increased a little in the last ten years. Reports of gospel teams and other service projects are encouraging. It seems from all reports that in general the school systems have decreased the shyness of the children, and have increased their self-confidence and their economic independence, but it has also tended to increase their indifference to religion and allowed a moral "let down", especially concerning drinking, smoking, and marriage. The moral condition of the nation as well as the attitudes of the schools are responsible for this condition. A steadying influence has been given by the missionaries, but the counter influence has made it more difficult to judge the results of the religious program. One objective of all Christian workers in the schools is to lead the children to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to help them to grow in their Christian lives. Different methods of evangelism and modes of church membership, and different conditions at the school make it hard to interpret the results of the questionnaire generally. However the following are the figures given concerning the number of Protestant children joining a church during the last three years, and the total number of Protestant church members last year.

School	Baptisms 1936	Baptisms 1937	Baptisms 1938	Protestant Church members Total
1	15	20	24	385
2	no report			
3	9			
4	no report			
5	19	17	2	7
6				
7	7	3		150
8	20	23	13	150
9	14	19	15	90
10	21	14	18	200(approx.)
11	quite a few			

If it were possible to judge, a very important factor would be the results in later life. A great many factors help to determine the future life of the students, such as distance from a church or Indian mission, the type of work into which they enter, and their environment and associates. Because it is very difficult for the religious director in the schools to know the lives of the students after they have scattered from the school, there is included in the following chart, in addition to the figures provided by the directors of the schools, the reactions of several missionaries from the reservations. These

1. Average number as other church members

2. The reservations to which the numbers refer are listed

1. Tama, Iowa
2. Shawnee, Oklahoma
3. Mission Home, North Fork, California
4. Happy Camp, California
5. Schurz, Nevada
- 6.
7. Lawton, Oklahoma

are also designated by numbers. The figures represent the approximate percent of students who after leaving the schools give the following reactions.

Schools	1	6	8	9	10	11
	(Percent)					
Live morally upright	95	low		50	5	
Keep the Christian faith	60	low all		50	75	most
Are active in local church	60	low 78		25	40	average ¹
Christian influence in homes	40	low 95		10	50	some
Embrace Indian faith	1	low 0		7	10	few
Are indifferent to religion	30	big 5		40	50	average

Reservations ¹	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	(Percent)						
Live morally upright	25	25	40	90	5	50	65
Keep the Christian faith	40	20	50	85	big	80	60
Are active in local church	25	3	30	80		80	40
Christian influence in homes	10	2	60	80	big	75	60
Embrace Indian faith	10	35	0	few	yes	few	1-
Are indifferent to religion	50	15	40	few	few	0	20

1. In this chapter material is used from the results of the questionnaire which was sent to all religious education directors in the non-reservation boarding schools for Indians and other religious workers on similar fields. Also material from annual and conference reports of Indian workers, findings of investigations made by G.E.E. Lindquist, and other material from periodicals, reports, and letters has been consulted. I have also consulted the following books for material in this chapter.

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "The Red Man in the United States"
2. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
3. Lewis Meriam, "Facing the Future in Indian Missions"
4. Winifred Hulbert, "Indian Americans"
5. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Preliminary Report on Peyote"

CHAPTER IV

THE FUTURE IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN NON- RESERVATION
BOARDING SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS¹Forward Look in Religious Education in Indian Work
in General

It is necessary to build upon the past, do our best in the present, but plan for the future. Indian work is slow, and the religious education directors must recognize this in making their plans and in evaluating their work. Mrs. Ruth Muskrat Bronson, an honored and talented Indian woman, has stressed the fact that Indians naturally move slowly. We must also consider that they are making a very great adjustment in a relatively short time, an adjustment which took our ancestors many generations to make.

The Policy of Segregation vs. Assimilation

In much of life we go from one extreme to another before the pendulum settles to a central norm. In the matter of segregation of the Indians versus their assimilation, the policies have probably gone to the extremes and need to find a happy medium. There is some truth in

both approaches to the problem. Perhaps the Indian needs a certain amount of segregation for a period yet in which he may have time to find himself and make his adjustments more slowly. Every true friend of the Indian wants him to conserve the best of the old life and apply to himself the values of the new. The problem is how best to help him to do this. Obviously all Indian communities are not the same, some are more adjusted to the surrounding society than others, and also the environmental conditions differ greatly. On one reservation the spirit may be progressive, and the relationship with the surrounding community so wholesome that assimilation is natural. In some cases the Indian group needs to be protected from an unwholesome white community, and in other cases the Indians need to be protected against and removed from their own unwholesome conditions. Policies need to be adjusted to local conditions. Initiative and ambition need to be aroused to make the Indian struggle for the best. Self confidence needs to be developed within him, and respect for him given to his white brother, for the Indian is apt to become what he feels he is expected to be. Wherever the problem of segregation or assimilation has been mentioned in any of the missionary reports, the consensus of opinion is in favor of assimilation. Eventually there must be assimilation, but the present calls for judgment as to how fast that can be brought about. The Indian cannot

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Preliminary Report on Peyote", p. 1

be kept in a museum, eventually he will demand his freedom. But experience has taught that where the freedom has been given prematurely, unscrupulous white people have taken advantage of the Indian and stolen that which he had.

The Problem of Peyote

Many of the Indians are addicts to the use of Peyote. "Peyote (sometimes called 'mescal') is a species of cactus grown in Northern Mexico, the top of which when cut off and dried forms so-called "buttons" which are eaten either in their dry, brittle state, or made into a tea. The botanical name is *Anahalonium Lowinii*. The Spanish padres called it *raiz diabolica* or "devil's root!"¹

Peyote is a real problem on some reservations, and one report from a missionary said it probably was influencing a part of the Indians to stay away from the sanatorium, but in no school or sanatorium is it used. Missionaries in two schools mentioned that some of the children come from communities where Peyote is a problem. All who answered that it was a problem were following the policy of ignoring it, unless the subject was mentioned and then they showed their disapproval. All say that

they do not mention it in the church service, and only one has given any definite teaching against it in small group classes.

Formerly the use of Peyote was frowned upon by government employees. The Post Office department once ruled that it could not be transported through the mails. Now there is no federal law forbidding the use of it, altho there are state laws prohibiting its use. The Indian Department at present recognizes it as a native religion and therefore does not discourage it. The following quotation from a Preliminary Report on Peyote, prepared for the Sub-Committee on Peyote of the Joint Committee on Indian Work of the Home Missions Councils:

"Why this study"

The subject of peyote has come into prominence in recent years due, in part, to the attitude of the present administration of the Indian Bureau which holds that peyote is not a deleterious or habit-forming drug, and further, that it cannot be suppressed because it is "an Indian religion". In keeping with this attitude the word "peyote" has been eliminated from that section of the Interior Department Appropriation Bill having to do with suppression of drugs and intoxicating liquor on Indian reservations.

In connection with Senate Bill No. 1399, introduced by Senator Chavez of New Mexico, to prohibit the interstate transportation of Anahalonium (peyote) in certain cases, the Department presented a long adverse report (May 18, 1937) to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

One significant aspect of this report is the inclusion of letters and statements secured at the request of Commissioner Collier from eight

1. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Preliminary Report on Peyote", p. 1

or nine anthropologists who, it is alleged, give ex parte testimony from a totally disinterested point of view. These statements might ordinarily be passed over without any comment were it not for the implication in a number of them that the missionaries in opposing peyote were guilty of "misrepresentations" and "false statements" and presumably were prejudiced because of their zeal to propagate the Christian faith. The latter seems a little odd inasmuch as several testify that peyote serves to bridge the gap between paganism and Christianity and hence should be encouraged rather than discouraged. A close reading and analysis of these statements, however, will indicate that they have very little bearing on the merits (or demerits) of the proposed legislation inasmuch as the latter has to do with transportation of peyote in states or territories already having laws against it.

Another factor entering into our present interest in a study of peyote has to do with its incorporation in Oklahoma as "The Native American Church". There is attached herewith a copy of extracts from the original charter of October 10, 1918, and also from the so-called "amendment" of April 24, 1934. In reading the "original" and the "Amendment" several striking things are revealed. In the "original" the "purpose" is to foster and promote "the Christian Religion" with the practice of the "Peyote sacrament", while in the "amendment" the worship and use of peyote becomes a religion of "our forefathers". It is also raised to the dignity of a "missionary religion" with the purpose of establishing "councils" not only in the State of Oklahoma, but in "affiliated churches in the United States". It is interesting to note the date of this "amendment" (April 24, 1934) as coinciding with the stamp of evident approval placed on peyote by the present (Collier) administration.

An investigation into the use of Peyote was made in 1937. From forty-eight answers received from questionnaires which were sent to missionaries in different

2. G.E.E. Lindquist, "Preliminary Report on Peyote", p

sections of United States. It was found that Peyote was then in use on twenty-three reservations, and had been in use on two others formerly. Its use was introduced among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes about forty-five years ago, and among the Comanches even earlier and now the center from which it is propagated is in Oklahoma. The use of Peyote is increasing alarmingly in certain areas. It is often used as a medicine, much as aspirin, and sometimes with fatal results. It has not been definitely proven whether or not Peyote is a habit forming drug. There is a question as to what is meant by "habit forming". The missionaries in answering this question from their observance of its addicts, gave evidence that it is: eighteen gave positive answers; two negative, and two uncertain. The answers as to the effects of the use of Peyote on Indians are summed up thus:

Mental effects--slows up mental processes, mentally slow or unstable, inclined to be irrational;
Moral effects--degrading and debasing, highly emotional, indulge in debauchery;
Physical effects--lowers resistance to disease, incapacitates users for hard work, physical emaciation apparent, produces stupor, the effects of which last several days. There is also testimony presented indicating that peyote users tend to become drunkards as well as "drug addicts".

The Conferences desired that the study of peyote be continued, that scientific unbiased evidence of its nature and effect be secured, with resultant remedial legislation as might be deemed necessary.

1. F. O. Burnett, "The Indian Call", Vol. 1, No. 3

Unreached Fields

A study of unreached fields is being made by the Home Missions Council. In the World Service Reference Book of 1923 there is the following statement: "There are 50,000 Indians in the United States among whom no missionary work whatsoever has been done, either by the Roman Catholic or Protestant church."¹ Conditions in this regard have not changed to any great extent. The problem is complex, because often the Indians live in small isolated groups, and there are many reasons which make it unwise to combine the work with the work of a regular white pastor. Often, however, this is the only solution which can be found. Also, there are fields in which there are enough Indians which would warrant a full time missionary, but the denominations to which these are allocated are not financially able to place a worker there, or they are not able to find the worker who meets the peculiar needs of that field. One suggested plan is that of a circuit for several small isolated fields. A similar plan which is proving successful in South Dakota is that of a religious education director who travels from community to community giving instructions in the day schools or public schools. This plan is suggested in a report of Religious Education on the Indian Reservation in South Dakota with special reference

1. Report of Religious Education in the Schools in South Dakota, See Appendix D.

to the work in public and government day schools.

Since the establishment of the policy to have Indian children attend public and day schools in their home communities many of them are not having any opportunity for religious education. The churches will have to send field workers into the schools in order to reach these children. This can be done on week days on school time, in cooperation with the South Dakota state law, in public schools and in communities with the ruling of the Indian Bureau in the day schools. Such a plan has been in operation on Crow Creek for 15 years, on Rosebud for 5 years, and on Pine Ridge for 2 years. A more extensive program for such work would not be an experiment. ¹

The above report continues and gives a thorough report of the children in different schools who have and those who do not have religious instruction. It is summarized thus: "We may conclude that about 3000 out of 8000 children are having regular religious instruction ... A total of 90 schools, no classes in 62 of them. The problem of the unreached fields is a serious one which should challenge the action of our Protestant Christians.

Cooperation of Churches

A splendid example of cooperation between churches is the work of the Home Missions Council.

The Home Missions Council, which has been in existence since 1908, combines and coordinates the activities of thirty-six different Home Mission Agencies, representing twenty-two

1. "Co-operation For Indians", Home Missions Council, 1919

denominations. From the beginning it has had a committee on Indian missions. In January, 1919 this Committee was enlarged in scope so as to include representatives of the Council of Women for Home Missions, of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and of the separate Boards. ¹

Judging from reports, there is a growing spirit of cooperation between churches. This spirit has been aided by a joint study of the entire field, showing that there are several cases of overlapping which hinder the work, and that there are still untouched missionary fields. A fuller understanding of our mutual objectives and mutual problems through surveys and conferences has increased the cooperation between churches. However, there is need for further effort along this line. The missionary work will progress faster when denominations become willing to give up individual interests and rights for the good of the common cause.

The success of the missionary cause will be increased by better interest and cooperation between the local churches and the school and reservation religious program. The Indian people would be greatly benefited by the sincere Christian interest of the local churches. It would improve their conception of Christianity. Likewise the local churches would be helped by the contacts with a naturally spiritual people, and by the expression of

the missionary spirit by the church. This phase of the work should be stressed through denominational missionary channels and by the Indian missionaries. Since in most places conditions are not ready for the full assimilation of the Indian people into the white church, it seems that a worker responsible for Indian work alone is desirable. Funds do not permit this in the smaller schools and reservations or villages, and in this case, the local church has the responsibility of this missionary enterprise. Here the church should not wait for an invitation to conduct this work, but should take the initiative by going to the superintendent and arranging the way that it might help in the program of spiritual development. In as far as possible the church should try to enter into the life of the school or reservation in order to do effective work.

Cooperation of Government and Missionaries

It seems that there is a lack of understanding between the missionary and government employees, and that this lack is greater at the present time than in the past. Both are working for the advancement of the Indian people. Instead of mutual suspicion and antagonism there should be developed a

mutual understanding. More time should be spent in conferences where objectives and plans are discussed. There is a common ground where there is already co-operation, but this needs to be enlarged by an effort from both sides. The importance of religion in the lives of the Indian people needs to be more fully recognized by the government official. Certain standards of the church on topics such as temperance, marriage, and sabbath observance should be respected. The missionaries need to spend more thought and effort in working with the government on some of their projects such as health education, community improvement and social programs. Both are so busy with their respective programs that they are thoughtless about the others' interests, with a result that the Indians sense a lack of coordination and cooperation which causes conflicts and confusion. Missionaries should be invited to the government council meetings on an equal standing as employees; and government people should be included in the missionary conferences to present their angle of the whole program. One missionary suggests that religious workers be allowed to help deal with a problem child. Much of this has been done, but better results are possible if a coordinated program is planned and executed by missionaries and government employees together.

1. "Co-operation for laundries", Home Missions Council, 1910, p. 6.

It is stated in the findings of the conference of Indian workers at Wichita, Kansas in 1919:

In these days of reconstruction, we realize with increased clearness the need of coordinating and correlating all agencies, working for the welfare of the Indians. We must join hearts and hands and prayers with all persons and with all institutions, whose purpose is to make America a Christian Nation, and to bring the spirit of Christ and allegiance to Him into all lives and into all parts of life.¹

Forward Look in Religious Education in the Non-Reservation Boarding Schools for Indians.

Study of Background of Indian Life.

A principle of education is to "go from the known to the unknown." It is difficult for the religious education director to discover the background of a large group of children who have come from so many different environments. Any aid which can be given in this direction would be appreciated. Books and other literature should be made available for the missionary which would give the historical and tribal background of the people with whom he is working. Altho the people may not be practicing the Indian faith now, their cultural and religious heritage still influences their conception of Christianity.

1. "Co-operation for Indians", Home Missions Council,
1919, p. 4

Bishop Hugh L. Burleson of the Protestant Episcopal Church, South Dakota, interpreted the the soul of the Indian, and summarized his character as follows:

1. The Indian is a natural poet and philosopher, a mystic and a dreamer.
2. He is more naturally religious than the white man; he has a sense of Divine presence.
3. He has a craving for guidance. He is not stolid. He only wants you to show that you care.
4. He has a socialized concept of life, he thinks in terms of the group. His very thriftlessness and his wanton lust for life have arisen from this sense of social solidarity.¹

Such a social heritage should be studied and built upon for our Christian faith.

If the missionary has won the confidence of the people, and is very close to some of them, they will tell some of their early beliefs, but generally they are very reticent about letting outsiders know of their customs and religious beliefs. Besides literature which might be made available for the missionary, a summer training school distinctly for Indian missionaries might be held, either in connection with the Indian Service Summer Schools, at which courses in the History, Philosophy, and Arts and Crafts of Indians are taught; or in connection with an extended regional conference of the National Fellowship of Indian Workers. The reports of the regional conferences indicate a common feeling that there needs to be a special training for the white leadership working on

1. Report of the N.W. Regional Conference, National
Fellowship of Indian Workers, 1938, p. 3

2. Questionnaire from School No. 9

Indian fields. Another manner in which the missionary may become acquainted with the background of the children is by visitation on the different reservations within available distance. At the Northwest Regional Conference, "it was recommended that the Home Missions Council through the Joint Indian Committee should make it possible for religious work directors to go to the reservations in the summer time for the sake of closer contacts with the homes and the students."¹

A few illustrations of early Indian beliefs that would influence the religious thinking of the Indian which were reported by the missionaries in the questionnaires sent out in connection with this study are as follows:

Indians had prayer of some kind which helps him to understand Christianity easily from that angle. Indians had ceremonies in connection with different events of year and life, such as when planting was done, and when the harvest was gathered, or "girls coming out", marriage, etc. Through these we can show that Christianity helps in every day living.²

From study of our own tribe and the experience of our Mission our thought is that the Indian ceremonies lead the Indians to think of the Christian Sacraments of Baptism and Communion as ceremonies so that many fail to realize that these are meaningless without a change of heart. That is the outward form of their old religions makes it easy for them to take up with the forms of Christianity and miss the heart of it. (Is this to be wondered at when our white people are now so formal in their religion) From study of other tribes and this one and the results of Mission work in various tribes I come to the conclusion that the tribal religious heritage is not a very great deciding

1. Questionnaire from Reservation No. 1

2. Questionnaire from Reservation No. 2

factor as to their attitude to Christianity. Other factors are much more influential. The psychology of the situation is more a deciding factor and also circumstances under which Mission work was begun and carried on. To illustrate this from this tribe. In the experience of my predecessor many of this tribe came to the mission and joined and attended. Only a fourth of the tribe is now left to the old Indian religion. But the Payote representatives of the Native American Church of Oklahoma came and told these Indians, "Here is the Indian way of being a Christian." They also offered places of leadership to the Indians in this cult. Now this cult has taken on some of the forms of Christianity as a cloak to protect them in the use of the forms of Christianity as a cloak to protect them in the use of the drug. About one fourth of this tribe are now in this cult.

A little earlier another cult came in from the North, the "Drum" cult and appealed to the Indians that here is the Indian way of worshipping God. This cult used the peace pipe, the drum, the ceremonial dance, the sign language, etc., to make a new Indian religion in an attempt to unite the northern tribes in a religion that would hold them from the Christian religion. Again the appeal was that this was "Indian" and places of leadership were offered them. This cult now has a fourth of the tribe.

This background leads me in my courses at the Government day school on the Reservation to emphasize the Jewish origin of the Christian religion to counteract their thought that this is the White man's religion.¹

One woman said, "My grandmother taught me that 'God sees everything' and 'God holds us up', 'if it wasn't for God, we would all ~~be~~ limp like a rag'; meaning it is God's spirit that gives us life."²

In the old days medicine men dominated all of life, but now they are seldom called. Indians believed in the future life and had rites to keep spirits of dead from loitering around

1._ Questionnaire from Reservation No. 3

2. Questionnaire from School No. 10

earthly homes. One year was period of mourning for the dead. Articles were burned with the dead. In the old days the name of the dead never were mentioned. Women cut their hair at the death of near kin. After year of mourning the grave was leveled or entirely neglected. There was considerable evidence of a pantheistic belief.¹

I had wondered why it was so difficult to persuade Indian young people to stand by themselves even if the group did not agree with them. The same tendency was noted in school, and among the men who were asked to be bosses over other Indian men in their work. Finally I was told that in the early days that tribe was ruled by public opinion. When a person did something wrong, instead of punishing him for it, he was talked to by older people of the tribe and told what was right and why and this was simply law, they did not dare to disobey it. Our tribes believe in the "Great Spirit", and in the life after death. The possessions of the deceased are buried with him, for use in the future life. They believe that they all go to what we would call heaven, but that there the gone are on one side and the bad on the other. They do not wish to have a picture of the person who has died, or to live in the same house in which he has lived. They want to have new surroundings which will not remind them of the one departed. However, the women wail and grieve for days after the funeral service. Prayer early in the morning, and a prayer of thanks for the gift of water and a prayer with an offering of food scattered toward the four directions, also a prayer in the form of a song are typical expressions of their fellowship with the Eternal.²

In reply to the question, "What is the religious background of your predominating tribes?" From twenty-one replies there are four that show no trace of the primitive Indian faith, having had missions conducted

among them since the nation was formed. There were fifteen answers that showed that the background was not predominantly Christian, in some cases having had two or three generations of Christians and only a trace of the Indian beliefs noted in eleven of them. There was one tribe of one school that was predominantly pagan, and two respondents did not make any attempt to answer concerning the background, and five of those who were predominantly Christian of which they did not know of their Indian customs. This seems to point to the need of a study of the Indian background, but also indicates that much has been accomplished in this respect by the missionaries.

Cooperative study of objectives and problems of Indian missions

Indian missionaries in different sections of the country are doing their work more or less independent of each other. It would be of mutual help if they could contact each other and plan their objectives and methods together, and talk over their common problems. To aid in this fellowship and study was a reason that the National Fellowship of Indian Workers was formed. The purpose of this organization

1. National Fellowship of Indian Workers News Letter, No. 5,
April 1938

is stated in its news letter thus:

Quite frequently we hear it stated, "The Boards are allowing the Indian work to slip. It is not receiving the same amount of time and support as other work." This may or may not be true, yet is it not true that we often forget that this work presents elements of difficulty that are not found in any other type of missionary service in our land? Dealing with primitive people, with a culture and religion deeply imbedded in the past, in the midst of the most complex and ever-changing modern civilization, every known problem--racial, religious, economic, educationally, social--must be intelligently and sympathetically dealt with first hand. Why a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers"? Because every worker in the field deeply feels the need of association with kindred kinds, with great common difficulties, with longings for new light, new adjustments, new approaches, new victories. Every other religious group has its organization,--many meeting weekly or monthly. The men and women laboring on some 200 Reservations in 23 states, -- so often isolated, and in mental and soul distress--need the stimulation and inspiration that comes from at least one annual meeting....."To establish and to foster a unity of spirit and service among Indian missionaries, mission board members, Government employees, and other friends of the Indian, to affirm their group consciousness, to share their experiences, and to establish orderly means to discuss any matters affecting the welfare of Indians and Indian mission."

This bulletin of the National Fellowship of Indian Workers which contains helpful and interesting items is a great contribution to Indian missionaries, but the conferences conducted last year as regional meetings, since its origin in 1935, as the annual meetings at Madison, Wisconsin, have been of even greater inspiration and instruction. A summer school conducted along the

line of the regional conferences would be of even greater help, as this would give an opportunity for definite study of the situation and the objectives of Indian missions.

Methods of Religious Education

Another phase of study which would be helpful at the summer meeting of Indian missionaries is the modern methods of education. Many missionaries have been on the fields for years, with little opportunity to discuss methods with others. The most successful methods of teaching should certainly be used in teaching religion. Today education is pupil centered and creative in method. If religious education is to be meaningful, it must begin at the point of the actual life problems and situations involved. This is true in all education but because of the multiplicity of problems in adjustment and application in this particular group as it tries to transform itself to a new form of life, the controlled simplicity of life laboratory experiences in the application of Christian principles of living seems to be the answer to the method of approach. It is the tendency of the Indian children to learn best through the medium of motor activity. This will involve

1. "Co-operation for Indians, etc." p. 4

small intimate groups with directed guidance by Christian teachers. Learning through life experience has always been the historic method for the Indian. The project method was the Indians primitive way of training and to use this method now is to build on a background of learning patterns of their racial experience. Considering the problems they face the religious education will need to stress the Life of Christ, Problems in Christian Living, Alcohol education, and Problems of Marriage and Home.

One basic need of Indian missions for the future is trained native leaders. Rev. Henry Roe Cloud, himself an Indian, said concerning this problem: "The basic need of the Indians is of a trained native Christian leadership. If met, it will solve other problems. Only the native can dream the dreams, feel the heart-longings, and think the thoughts of the Indian. He must be adequately trained, because he must lead his people out into the deeper reaches of life."¹ Activities which may discover and train leaders for the future are the Teacher Training Classes, responsibilities for the work of the Mission accepted by the officers and leaders, and Gospel Teams which endeavor to lead the people of an Indian community in Christian living, and also to create contacts for mutual understanding with white churches.

Regional conferences of consecrated Indian youth would help to select and develop native leaders. It has been suggested that the Home Missions Council lead in starting this movement, for it must be on an inter-denominational basis. Also it has been suggested that the Home Missions Council establish one school for the further training of Christian Indian leaders. Present efforts along this line are the Cook Bible School at Phoenix, Arizona (Presbyterian); Bacone College, Bacone, Oklahoma; (Baptist); American Indian Institute at Wichita, Kansas (started by Henry Roe Cloud).

Missionaries need to concern themselves with the whole of the life of these Indian youth. They need to express their friendly interest in the pupils after graduation by letters and by visiting them in their homes or places where they are working. Altho this interest is and has been genuine, care must be taken that the pressing duties of the present do not crowd out the ultimate value of these continued contacts.

The Challenge of the Opportunity for Religious Education
in the Non-Reservation Boarding Schools for Indians

In the non-reservation boarding school for

Indians there are assembled children and young from scattered communities of several states comprising many tribes. Imagine the influence radiating out from this school to the widely separated homes of these young people. Many of these children come from isolated communities where they do not have the opportunity for school or church. These children are living under controlled conditions in which the government has allowed time for weekly religious instruction besides the Sunday services. The missionaries have a tremendous responsibility to slowly lead through patience, understanding and training the 5,412 Indian young people in the non-reservation boarding schools into the fellowship of God through Jesus Christ, their Saviour, that they may become the leaven which shall permeate the lives of the Indian people of all this vast territory. It is a super human task we are asking of our missionaries, but with Paul they may say, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." God has revealed himself to them throughout the ages, but it was the purpose of Christ's sacrifice that all God's children might come to the "fullness" of the "abundant life". It is the opportunity of the missionary to work with God in order that his purpose may be fulfilled. The Indians have entered the "melting pot" of America,

and the missionaries have the opportunity to help them, in the words the Girl Reserves love to say, "to find and give the best!" We hope they will discover the best of the white civilization and give from their heritage the distinct gifts they have to offer.

In a Mission chapel may be found three beautiful murals, the gifts, last year, of a grateful Indian artist. The first has caught the spirit of early Indian worship. An Indian maiden as the first light of the sun is seen on the mountains is kneeling beside a pool of water offering her thanks to the "Great Spirit" for the gift of water in this desert land. Older Indian women as they have sat and studied the picture have said, "We know just what she is saying, she is finishing her prayer, and saying, 'Let there be no evil in me today, push out all the bad from my life today'." She is using the distinctive Indian gesture of prayer, that of pushing out. Opposite this picture is one of modern Indian worship, holding before the Indian youth the ideal of worship in the everyday Christian living, by portraying a family in modern dress seated around the table with the father holding the open Bible and the children in the attitude of prayer. The aim of religious education should be to help them to keep the best from the old life, and use that to help them to find a vital every day

experience in Christ. The central mural is that of the "Victorious Christ", and pictures Christ on the resurrection morning, victorious over sin and death. This is the picture which arrests one's attention on entering the room, for the artist has given through the inspired painting of the face of Christ and the atmosphere of the picture the message that Christ can help us to be victorious over sin and death. This is the message which is meaningful to the religious education directors as they face the overwhelming task of presenting Christ's message so that each young person will go out from their mission into the life of his community to live victoriously for Christ.

1. I have consulted "The Red Man in the United States" by G.E.E. Lindquist, for the material in this chart. It is arranged geographically as follows:

The Northern Colonial Area
The Southern States
The Great Lakes
Indian Territory
The Prairie
The Southwest
Rocky Mountain States
The Pacific Coast

The tribes living in the designated reservation or county are listed; and the use of Peyote, noted; the proportion of the tribe adhering to the native Indian religion is listed; and the date of the founding of Christian missions and the denominations conducting religious work are included in the chart. The name of the denominations are abbreviated because of lack of space, but are listed as follows:

R.C.--Roman Catholic
Prot.--Protestant
B.--Baptist(Northern)
Epis.--Protestant Episcopal
Pb.--Presbyterian
Fr.--Friends
M.--Methodist
M.E.--Methodist Episcopal
S.B.--Southern Baptist
M.E.S.--Methodist Episcopal South
W.--Wesleyan
N.I.A.--National Indian Association
C.--Congregational
L.--Luthern
Re.--Reformed Church
Mo.--Mormon
Naz.--Nazarene
D. Re.--Dutch Reformed Church
Me.--Mennonite
G.U.--Gospel Union
Ch. Re.--Christian Reformed Church
Br.--Plymouth Brethren
S.D.--Seventh Day Adventists
I.P.--Independent Protestant work

The Shaker church which is mentioned was founded by John Slocum, a Mud Bay Indian, and is a mixture of the Christian faith and Indian superstition.

APPENDIX A

A Chart of Mission Work among the Indians of United States
Showing Tribes, Location, Peyote, Native Religion, Date, Denominations.

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Pey-Native ote Religion</u>	<u>Date of Founding by Denominations</u>
Algonquin	<u>Maine</u>	none	R.C. about 1700
Wampanoag	<u>Mass.</u>	none	Prot.-1660, B.-1835
Iroquis Senecas	<u>New York</u> <u>Cattaraugus</u>	some	B.-1900, Epis. Pb.-1823, M.E.-1854
Senecas	Allegany	1/3	Pb.-1843, B., Fr.
Senecas	Tonawanda	20%	Pb.-1868, B., M.
	Tuscarora	none	B., Pb.
Onondagas	Onondaga St. Regis- Mohawk	75% none	Epis., M., W. R.C. M.E.
Senecas	Cornplanter	none	Pb.
Shinnecocks Eastern	Long Island <u>North</u>	none	Pb. S.B.-1820, M.E.S.-1880
Cherokee	<u>Carolina</u>	none	W.-1735, Fr.-a.1750, M.E.-1920
Croatans		none	M. B.-1913
Seminoles	<u>Florida</u>	most	(N.I.A.-1891, Epis.)
Choctaw	<u>Mississippi</u>		R.C., M.E., S.B.
Chittemache	<u>Louisiana</u>		R.C.
Chittemache	Bayou Lacombe		C.
Chittemache	Marsville		C.
Qua-she-tee	Kinder		C.
Alabama	<u>Texas</u>	none	Pb.-1881
Chippewa	<u>Michigan</u>		B.-1826, R.C.-1844
Chippewa	Lac Vieux de Sert	most	
Chippewa	Zeba		M.

Tribe	Location	Pey- ote	Native Religion	Date of Founding by Denominations
Menominee	<u>Wisconsin</u>	x	25%	R.C.-1844
Stockbridge			none	L.-1898, Pb.-1867, R.C.
Winnebagos				Re.-1878, L.-1884
Potawatomis			10%	L.
Oneidas			none	Epis.-1825, M.-1831
Chippewas	Lac Du Flambeau		80%	Pb.-1916
	Lac Court D'Oreille		25%	Pb., R.C.
	Red Cliff		none	R.C.
	Bad River		little	R.C., M., C.
Chippewas	<u>Minnesota</u>			
	White Earth			Epis., M.E., R.C.
	Red Lake		50%	R.C., Epis.
	Leech Lake		40%	R.C., Epis.
	Nett Lake		10%	R.C., M.E.
	Fond du Lac		5%	R.C., M.E.
	Vermillion Lake		little	R.C., M.
	Grand Portage			R.C.-1830
Birch Cooley Sioux	Morton		none	Epis.-1900
Five Civiliz- ed Tribes	<u>Indian Territory</u>			R.C.-1893-schools
Chickasaw				S.B., M.E.S., Pb. S.B.
Choctaw				B.-1819, M.E.-1825, Pb.
Creek				Mo.-1735, S.B. Pb., B.-1822 .-1817
Cherokee				Mo.-1735, Pb.-1804, C.-1816
Seminoles				Pb.-1852
Quapaw	Ottawa County	x		R.C.-1877

Tribe	Location	Pej-Native Date of Founding ote Religionby Denominations		
	<u>Indian</u> <u>Territory</u>			
Senecas	Ottawa	little	Fr.	
Modocs		little	Fr.	
Ottawas		little	Fr.	
Eastern Shawnees		little	Fr.	
Wyandottes		little	Fr.	
Peorias		little	Fr.	
Miamis		little	Fr.	
Osages				S.B.-1905, Fr.-1908
Absentee				R.C.(early), Pb.-1821
Shawnee	Shawnee			Fr.-1873
Big Jim		x	none	
Bands		x	none	(Fr.-1837), Fr.-1873
White				
Turkey		x	none	Fr.
Sac and Fox		x	none	(N.B.-1880), S.B.
Kickapoo		x	none	Fr.-1873
Citizen				
Potawatomis		x	none	R.C.(early)
Iowa		x	none	B.
Otoe	Pawnee and Ponca	x		(N.I.A.-1883), M., (F.), S.B.
Kaw				(M.)
				(M.E.), (Naz.)
Ponca		x		(N.I.A.-1883), (M.-1890)
Tonkawa				M., S.B.
Pawnee				(Pb.-1834-1847)(N.I.A.-1883)
Kiowa	Kiowa			R.C.-1886-1907, B., Pb.-1889
Kiowa-Apaches				B., Re
Comanche				B., Pb.-1889, Me., Re.
Wichita				(Fr.-1872), (F.-1875) B.

Tribe	Location	Pey-Native ote Religion	by	Date of Founding Denominations
Caddo and Allied tribes Fort Sill Apaches	Kiowa			(Fr.-1872), (B.-1876), 3 Pb.-1889
Cantonment Cheyenne- Arapaho	Canton, <u>Okla.</u>	x	little	D.Re., B., Me.
Seeger	Concho	x	little	D.Re., B., Me.
Kickapoos	Colony	x	little	D.Re., B., Me.
	<u>Kansas</u>			(Pb.-1865)
Iowas				
Potawatomis				(Pb.-1865), M.-1903, R.C.
Winnebagos	<u>Nebraska</u>	x	little	(Epis.-1916) (R.C.-early), (Pb.), Re.
Omahas		x	little	Pb.-1845
Poncas		x		Epis.-1867, (C.)
Santee Sioux			none	Pb.-1834, Epis.-1867, C., R.C.
Sac and Fox	<u>Iowa</u>		80%	Pb.-1904, R.C.
Yankton Sioux	<u>South Dakota</u>	x		Epis., Pb., R.C.
Sisseton Wahpeton	Sisseton		little	Pb.-1868, Epis.-1870, R.C. Pb.
Teton Sioux	Rosebud		little	R.C., Epis.-1875, (C.-1875)
Oglala Sioux	Pine Ridge		little	R.C. Epis.-1884, Pb.-1886
Blackfeet	Cheyenne River			C.-1871, R.C., Epis.-1872
Miniconjou Sioux				C.-1871, R.C., Epis.-1872
Sano Arc Sioux				C.-1871, R.C., Epis.-1872
Two Kettle Sioux				C.-1871, R.C., Epis.-1872
	Lower Brule and Crow Creek			
Hunkpatina Sioux				R.C., Epis.-1872, Pb.
Miniconjou				R.C., Epis.-1872, Pb.
Brule Sioux				R.C., Epis.-1872, Pb.
Two Kettle Sioux				R.C., Epis.-1872, Pb.

Tribe	Location	Pe- ote	Native Religion	Date of Founding by Denominations
<u>North Dakota</u>				
Teton Sioux	Standing Rock			Epis.-1885, C.-1885, R.C.
Sisseton				
Sioux	Devil's Lake	little	R.C., Epis., Pb.-1881	
Wahpeton				
Sioux		little	R.C., Epis., Pb.-1881	
Cuthead				
Sioux		little	R.C., Epis., Pb.-1881	
Cree-	Turtle			
Chippewa	Mountain		R.C., Epis.	
	Fort			
Arrickora	Berthold			
Mandan				
Gros Ventres		x	little	C., R.C., Mormon, Epis.-1897
Mescalero				
Apaches	<u>New Mexico</u>	little	R.C.-1911, Re.-1907	
Jicarilla				
Apaches		some	M.-1889, Re.-1914 Pb. 1851	
Tenoan Pueblo		some	(R.C.-1898), R.C.-1898 (Pb.-1850), Ch. Re. 1897	
Zuni-Pueblos		mostly	(R.C.-1629), R.C. 1921, Ch. Re. B. Epis., G.U., Br.	
Navajos	<u>Arizona</u>	mostly	R.C.-1893, Pb., Me., M., S.D. B.-1901	
Hopis		mostly	(R.C.-17th.C.), Me.-1893	
Pimas			(R.C.-1775), R.C.-1905 (I.-1870), Pb.-1870	
Maricopas		little	(R.C.-1775), R.C. 1905	
Apaches		little	R.C.-1905, Pb.-1878	
Papagos		little	R.C.-1905, Pb.-1878	
Papagos	San Xavier	none	R.C.-1692, Pb. 1903	
San Carlos and				
White River				
Apaches		75%	L.-1894, R.C.-Recent B.-1880	
Mohave-Apache	Camp Verde		(N.I.A.-1902), Pb. 1907	
Tonto-Apaches			B.-1880, Pb.-1907	
Mohaves	Yuma County		Pb.-1903	
Chemehuevis	Mohave Co.		Pb.-1903	

Tribe	Location	Pey-Native ote Religion	Date of Founding by Denominations
Mohaves	Needles, <u>Calif.</u>	some	Pb.-1904
Cocopah	<u>Arizona</u>		M.
Kaibab		mostly	Pb.-recent
Havasupai			
Walapai			Ply.Br.-1917
Utes or Piutes	<u>Utah and Colorado</u>		
White River	Uintale	x	Epis.-1898
	and		
Uintah	Ouray	x	Epis.-1898
Uncompahgre		x	Epis.-1898
Paiutes	Shivwits		Pb.-1895
	Goshute	x	Mo.
Ute & Navajos Southern Utes	Ute Mountain	mostly	Pb.-1918 Pb.-1917, R.C.
Arapahos	<u>Wyoming</u>		Epis.-1885, Pb.-1914
Shoshonis	Wind River		Epis. 1872, R.C.
Crows	<u>Montana</u>	little	R.C.-1883, (C.-1891), B. 1903
Northern Cheyenne		x 2/3	R.C.-1882, Me.-1883
Flatheads		little	(R.C.-1840-50), R.C.
Blackfeet		25%	M. 1893, Pb.-1909
Rocky Boy Assiniboines Sioux	Fort Peck	50% mostly	N.I.A., R.C. Pb.-1893, R.C., Mo.
Sioux Assiniboines Sioux	Fort Bilknap	some	Pb.
Nez Perces	<u>Idaho</u>	x little	Pb., R.C., Epis., M., C., B.
Coeur d'Clenes Kootenais & Kalispels		x little	R.C., Pb., Epis., M., C., B. R.C.

Tribe	Location	Pe- ote	Native Religion	Date of Founding by Denominations
Bannocks	Fort Hall	none		Epis.
Shoshonis	Fort Hall	none		Epis.
Nez Perces	Fort Lapwai	none		Epis.
Paiutes & Shoshone	<u>Nevada</u> Duck valley	65%		Pb.-1912
Shoshone & Paiutes	Fort Mc Dermitt	some		Epis.-recently
Paiutes Shoshone & Paiutes	Pyramid Lake	2/5		Epis.-1895
Paiutes & Shoshone	Walker Riverx			M.-1909
	Fallon	x	1/5	B.
Utes	Moapa River			(Pb.), Epis.
Washoes & Paiutes	Reno	1/5		B.
Washoes	Dresslervillex	3/5		B.
Paiutes	Yerrington	little		N.I.A.
<u>California</u>				
	Chico			Pb.
Maidu	Plumas Co.			M.E.-1890
Monos, Yokuts	Fresno			B.-1908
Meewuk, Yokut, Mono	Modera Co.			Pb.-1908, B.-1908
Yuroc, Weeyot, Blair River, Mattole, Win- toon, Karoc	Humbolt Co.			Epis.-1912
	Round Valley			M.-1865
Digger	Digger (only 51 Indians)			
Weeyot, Blair R, Tollewa, Yuroc	Hoopa Valley			Pb.
Paiute Pitt River	Fort Bidwell			C.-1913
Mono, Yokut	Tule River			R.C.
	Fort Yuma	some		M., R.C.

Tribe	Location	Pay-Native ote Religion	Date of Founding By Denominations
Shoshoni, Yokut Tehachapi	Kern Co.		.C.
Pomo, Meewuk	Lake Co.		M.E.
Pitt River, Paiute, Maidu, Dixey Valley, Washoe	Lassen Co.		M.E.
Ki-Pomo, Pomo	Mendocino		R.C.
Pomo	Sonoma		
Tollewa, Yuroc	Del Norte		
Pitt River, Apwaraki, Yana, Wintonn	Shasta		
Maidu	Butte		Pb.
Paiute, Sho shoni, Panamin	Inyo		Pb.
Paiute Pitt River	Modoc		C.
Maidu	Plumas		M.E.
Karoc, Shasta, Klamath,	Siskiyou Oregon		Epis.
Warm Springs	Warm Springs	$\frac{1}{2}$	Pb., Shaker
	Klamath	Some	M., Shaker
Federated	Siletz		R.C., M.E.
	Umatilla		Pb., R.C.
Wallawalla Cayuse	Eastern Umatilla		
	Grande Ronde		R.C.
	Roseburg		
	<u>Washington</u>		
Salish, Lake, San Pil, Columbia, Nespelem, Okanogan, Wenatchi, Nez Percés	Colville	some	R.C., M.E.

Tribe	Location	Pey-Native ote Religion	Date of Founding By Denominations
	<u>Washington</u>		
	Yakima	Some	M.E.-1858, R.C., Shaker
	Toppenish		
	Wopetoh		
	Spokane	Some	Pb.-1837, R.C.
	Quileute		Shaker
	Neah Bay		Pb.-1903, Shaker
	Cheholie		(Pb.) M.E., Shaker
	Quenicult		Pb.
	Squaxon Island		
	Skokomish		(C.), Shaker
	Muckelshoot		R.C.-1892, Shaker
	Clallam		M., Shaker
	Lummi, Nooksok		M.E., R.C.
	Puyallup		Pb.

1. Thomas C. Moffett, "The American Indian on the New Trail"
Appendix B, p.280

APPENDIX B

INDIAN MISSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES ¹Denominations and Tribes for which They Have Provided
Mission Work

Note-The spelling of names of tribes conforms to United States Government standard, as represented in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, edited by F. W. Hodge (1906).

- Baptist, Northern, Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Crow, Hopi, Kiowa, Navaho, Nez Perce, Osage, Pawnee, St. Regis, Seminole, Seneca, Southern Ute, Tulalip, Umatilla.
- Baptist, Southern. Chippewa, Crow, Osage, Pawnee.
- Christian Reformed. Navaho, Zuni.
- Congregational. Chippewa, Crow, Sioux, Skokomish.
- Church of the Nazarene. Mohave.
- Friends, Alaska, Cherokee, Iowa, Kickapoo, Modoc, Osage, Oto, Ottawa, Seneca, Shawnee, Wyandot.
- Gospel Union. Navaho.
- Independent. Barming, Lake of California, Navaho.
- Lutheran. Munsee, San Carlos, Stockbridge, White Mountain Apache.
- Mennonite. Arapaho, Cheyenne, Hopi, Pala.
- Methodist Episcopal. Chippewa, Klamath, Konkau, Lake, Modoc, Mohawk, Noosak, Oneida, Onondaga, Ottawa, Paiute, Piegan, Pomo, St. Regis, Seneca, Shoshoni, Washo, Yakima, Yokaia, Yuma.
- Methodist Episcopal, South. Caddo, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Comanche, Creek, Kiowa, Nez Perce, Seminole.
- Moravian. Barming.
- National Indian Association. Chukchansi, Klamath, Korusi, Navaho, Oneida, Paiute, Pitt River, Pluma, Tuolumne, Walker River.
- Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran. Oneida.
- Norwegian Synod. Chippewa.
- Presbyterian, Northern. Arapaho, Banrock, Cayuga, Cayuse, Cherokee, Chico, Chippewa, Creek, Digger, Fox, Hupa, Iowa, Kaibab, Kickapoo, Laguna, Makah, Maricopa, Menominee, Moapa, Mohave, Mohave-Apache, Navaho, Nez Perce, Nisqualli, Omaha, Oneida, Onondaga, Ottawa, Paiute, Papago, Pima, Pitt River, Pueblo, Puyallup, Quinaielt, Seminole, Seneca, Shinnecock, Shivwit, Shoshoni, Sioux, Southern Ute, Spokane, Tonto, Tuscarora, Umatilla, Walapai, Walla-walla, Western Shoshoni.
- Presbyterian, Southern. Chickasaw, Choctaw.

Protestant Episcopal. Chippewa, Oneida, Pala, Seneca, Sioux, Siskiyou, Skokomish.

Reformed in America. Apache, Cheyenne and Arapaho in Oklahoma, Fort Sill, Mescalero-Apache, Winnebago.

Reformed in U.S. Apache.

Reformed Presbyterian. Oneida.

Roman Catholic. All in Arizona and New Mexico (except Hopi and Apache, all in Oklahoma(except Seminoles), Arapaho, Cayuga, Chippewa, Coeur d'Alene, Klamath, Menominee, Mission in California, Nez Perce, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Puyallup, Shoshoni in Wyoming, Sioux, St. Regis, Southern Ute, Stockbridge, Tulalip, Umatilla, Walla-walla.

Swedish Evangelical. Alaskan.

United Presbyterian. Meskwakiag (Fox), Warm Spring in Oregon.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS ENGAGED IN INDIAN WORK

1. Home Missions Council
2. The Indian Rights Association.
3. The National Indian Association.
4. Young Mens Christian Association.
5. Young Womens Christian Association.
6. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among Indians

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

The following information is sought in connection with an investigation of Religious Education in Non-Reservation Boarding Schools for Indians. It will help greatly if you will furnish the necessary information from your field.

In order that you may answer the questions freely, will you please check the following:

- (1) Your answers may be quoted if desired: Yes___ No___
- (2) You desire your answers to be regarded as confidential?
Yes___ No___
- (3) Would you care to have a copy of the results of the investigation: Yes___ No___

Name_____

Address_____

Occupation_____

Name of Government School or Reservation_____

Address_____

1. When was Protestant Missionary work started in your field?_____
2. What Denominations now do Missionary work there?_____

3. Number enrolled in government school in year 1937-38?_____

4. Number of Protestant children enrolled in government school_____

5. What time do you have for religious instruction?_____

(1) Hours of school time:_____hrs. per week. For credit
Yes___ No___

(2) Hours outside school:_____hrs. per week. For credit
Yes___ No___

6. What attendance do you have at Religious meetings?
Give average number who attend at least once per week.
- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| Pri. boys _____ | Jr. Hi. boys _____ |
| Pri. girls _____ | Jr. Hi. girls _____ |
| Jr. boys _____ | Sr. Hi. boys _____ |
| Jr. girls _____ | Sr. Hi. girls _____ |
7. What was the number of decisions for Christ? 1936 _____
1937 _____ 1938 _____
8. What was the number of decisions for forward steps in
the Christian life? 1936 _____ 1937 _____ 1938 _____
9. What was the number joining some Protestant church?
1936 _____ 1937 _____ 1938 _____
10. What was the total number of Protestant church members
last year? _____
11. What was the total number of members of the Catholic
Church? _____
12. What courses of Study do you follow?
- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Pri. girls and boys | Jr. Hi. boys |
| Jr. girls | Sr. Hi. girls |
| Jr. Hi. girls | Leadership training |
13. List influences, such as the home, community, etc. that
encourage religious interest.
14. List influences that discourage interest in religion.
15. In general what cooperation do you receive from govern-
ment employces? (Please underline one of the following:)

- (1) In schedule: Excellent very good good fair poor
- (2) In building: Excellent very good good fair poor
- (3) In announcement: Excellent very good good
fair poor
- (4) In transportation: Excellent very good good
fair poor
- (5) In religious activity: Excellent very good good
fair poor
- (6) In teaching morals: Excellent very good good
fair poor
- (7) In teaching rel. classes: Excellent very good
good fair

16. How many employees take an active part in some church?

17. *What is the religious background of your predominating tribes?

(1) Name of tribe _____

Religious background, as to Indian rel. and
Christian rel.

Name of tribe _____

Religious background, as to Indian rel. and
Christian rel.

Name of tribe _____

Religious background, as to Indian rel. and
Christian rel.

Name of tribe _____

Religious background, as to Indian rel. and Christian rel.

- (2) At what points are the Indian religions and the Christian religion similar?
18. How do you consider this background in planning courses and making points of contact?
19. Approximately what percentage of boarding school pupils live consistent Christian lives after leaving school?
- (1) Live morally upright _____%
 - (2) Keep the Christian faith _____%
 - (3) Are active in local church work _____%
 - (4) Influence their homes towards Christianity _____%
 - (5) Embrace Indian faith _____%
 - (6) Are indifferent to religion _____%
20. Have you suggestions for making the religious educational program more effective in the non-reservation boarding school for Indians?

*I wish to discover how and how much the tribal religious heritage influences their thought in the Christian religion.

APPENDIX D

Report of Religious Education on the Indian Res. in S.D. with special reference to the work in public and government day schools.

Since the establishment of the policy to have Indian children attend public and day schools in their home communities many of them are not having an opportunity for religious education. The churches will have to send field workers into the schools in order to reach these children. This can be done on week days on school time, in cooperation with the South Dakota state law, in public schools and in communities with the ruling of the Indian Bureau in the day schools. Such a plan has been in operation on Crow Creek for 15 years, on Rosebud for 5 years, and on Pine Ridge for 2 years. A more extensive program for such work would not be an experiment.

It is obvious that a worker under an interdenominational plan would be acceptable in these schools where Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians study together. The Roman Catholic church on Rosebud sends teachers to the day schools at the same time that the Episcopal teachers go out for classes. One teacher with a car can take care of an extensive area, and sometimes find local volunteers who can go out with her.

Women field workers who will teach the children in their home communities are greatly needed now while the young children are starting school in their home communities; the excellent program now being carried out at Flandreau under the Joint Indian Committee should be a leadership training school for young people whose religious training has been continuous throughout their childhood.

The following analysis, school attendance of Indian children in S.D. together with the record of such religious education work now under way shows the opportunity ahead.

Reservation	No of Children	Pub School	Day School
Pine Ridge	2243	290	750
Standing Rock	1088	570	96
Cheyenne	915	282	184
Rosebud	2636	505	348
Sisseton	780	212	
Yankton		183	40
Crow Creek	229	128	
Lower Brule	216	115	
	<u>8107</u>	<u>2285</u>	<u>1418</u>

Reservation	U.S. Bd Sch	Ch Bd Sch	Ch Day
Pine Ridge	470	387	24
Standing Rock		29	89
Cheyenne	335	65	
Rosebud	325	350	
Sisseton	202	104	
Yankton			35
Crow Creek	22	79	
Lower Brule	36	62	
	<u>1390</u>	<u>1076</u>	<u>148</u>

CHILDREN IN WEEK DAY REL ED CLASSES

Reservation	Pub and Day School Prot	U.S. Bd Sch Prot
Pine Ridge	150	200
Rosebud	290	110
Crow Creek	92	
Pierre School		108
Yankton	20	
Cheyenne		
Sisseton		
Brule		
	<u>552</u>	<u>558</u>

Reservation	Church Bd Sch (R.C. Except St. Marys and Santee)	Ch Day Sch
Pine Ridge	387	24
Rosebud	350	
Crow Creek	79	
Pierre School		
Yankton	(No report - 350 children at Marty Miss, some from other res.)	35
Cheyenne	65	
Sisseton	104	
Brule	62	
	<u>1076</u>	<u>148</u>

Of the 8107 children of school age reported by the Indian Bureau as living on the eight reservations in S.D. 1224 are having religious education in mission schools - 558 Protestant children are receiving religious training in government boarding schools and 552 in day and public schools. To this total of 2500 I should add an estimate of 600 Roman Catholic children in rel ed classes in day and public government boarding schools.

WE MAY CONCLUDE THAT ABOUT 3000 OUT OF 8000 CHILDREN ARE HAVING REGULAR RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

Report of Classes Held in Reservations

	No day sch	No day school reached	No pub sch
Pine Ridge	15	15	7
Standing Rock	3	0	22
Cheyenne	2	0	3
(eastern end)			
Rosebud	7	3	10
Sisseton	0	0	10
Yankton	2	1	No report
Crow Creek	0	0	5
Lower Brule	0	0	4

	No pub sch reached
Pine Ridge	0
Standing Rock	0
Cheyenne	0
(eastern end)	
Rosebud	7
Sisseton	0
Yankton	0
Crow Creek	2
Lower Brule	0

A TOTAL OF 90 SCHOOLS, NO CLASSES IN 62 of them

It may be possible to work out a plan with Pierre School for a worker to have a residence there half the week and spend the remaining days of each week on the field. The enclosed report of Pierre School work in Rel Ed shows the need of such a worker to have charge of all the children in the Prot. group.

I cannot too strongly urge the appointment of at least a part-time worker to have charge of the instruction of this group of younger children. The fact that 66% of the 269 children attending Pierre school throughout this winter are orphans and come from broken homes makes it imperative that provision be made for their careful instruction. They need a personal friend who is not a member of the school staff.

I should like to call the attention of the Joint Committee to the need of recommending a change in the hour of Rel. Education classes in boarding schools. If it is the common practice in other elementary boarding schools to hold classes in the evening I believe it would be well to urge

the change in all elementary boarding schools in the Service. In public and U.S. day schools in S.D. classes are held in the day time and during school hours. Long experience with both types and times influences me to believe that day time is the right time for religious instruction. The reasons for this are obvious.

David W. Clark
Dean of the Niobrara Deanery.

Thesis 1939

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